

HBCA B.235/a/3 – Winnipeg Post Journal 1814-15

Journal at Red River Settlement with the Account of the Population of the Free Canadians and The Three Tribes of Indians in this Quarter with a Meteorological Journal & Astronomical Observations made at the different Places by Peter Fidler¹ to which is added the Astronomical Observations of Thomas and Charles Fidler² 1815.

July 1814

Red River Settlement 12 July 1814

The affairs of the Right Honourable the Earl of Selkirk requiring the presence of the undersigned at York Factory Hudsons Bay – Mess^{rs} Peter Fidler and Archibald McDonald³ are left in Charge of Red River Settlement and all matter belonging to it until his return. – The Stores to be particularly in Mr Fidler's charge, who is to keep an account of all Issues of Goods, Provisions, and also the superintendence of the Artificers and Buildings; – Mr McDonald is best acquainted with the Settlers, and is to attend to their wants. – Mr Fidler and Mr McDonald are expected to do their utmost endeavours Jointly to carry on the work required to be done.

¹ Peter Fidler (1769-1822) was born at Bolsover, England. He joined the HBC as a labourer in 1788 and eventually trained as a surveyor. He served at York Factory, Manchester House, Carlton House, Buckingham House, and Cumberland House before spearheading the HBC efforts in the Athabasca. He also travelled extensively with the Blackfoot in 1792-93. He was assigned to the Swan River District in 1807, before surveying the Assiniboine and Red Rivers up to Lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg. After a furlough in England, he returned with the first Red River colonists to Rupert's Land in 1812. Appointed postmaster of Brandon House, he was also put in the service of the infant colony. In 1813 he began surveying the lots of the colony. As noted here, Fidler was left in partial charge of the settlement in the summer of 1814 when Miles Macdonell travelled to York Factory to escort another group of settlers. He remained partially in control until Macdonell returned in 1815. When Miles Macdonell was arrested by the NWC in June of 1815, Fidler again assumed temporary command. As such, he signed the capitulation of 25 June 1815 ordering all settlers to abandon the colony. Fidler escorted the fleeing settlers to Jack River, where they were met by Colin Robertson who took the colonists back to Red River to re-establish the settlement. Fidler went on to York Factory to transport the newly arrived governor of the HBC territories, Robert Semple, as well as additional settlers, to Red River. He then returned to Brandon House but continued to aid the colony. After the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816, and after the colony was re-established a second time in 1817, Fidler resumed surveying the property lots. In September of 1817, Fidler left the colony and resumed his fur trade career at Brandon House. From 1819 to 1821 he was put in charge of the Manitoba District at Dauphin Lake. In poor health, he was pensioned in 1822 and died that same year. Robert S. Allen, "Fidler, Peter," *DCB Online*.

² These are the native-born sons of Peter Fidler.

³ Archibald McDonald (1790-1853) was employed by Lord Selkirk to recruit colonists in Scotland in 1812. He arrived in the RRS in 1813. He was appointed to the Council of Assiniboia to aid the colony's governor, Miles Macdonell, and during the winter of 1814–15 he served as one of Macdonell's principal lieutenants. When the colonists were forced out of the settlement in June of 1815, McDonald proceeded with them to Jack River House. While the settlers would return to the settlement in the fall of 1815, McDonald returned to England and prepared a written account of the events that led to the abandonment of the RRS. This account was published in London in 1816. Later that year he joined Selkirk in Montreal, and led a group of disbanded De Meuron soldiers who aided in the capture Fort William. McDonald then returned to Montreal and sailed for England in the fall. In 1818 he returned to the Red River settlement to assist in the administration of the colony. In 1820 he joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk and was posted to Ile a la Crosse. In 1821 he was transferred to the Columbia Department where he spent the rest of his career. He retired to Quebec in 1848 and died in 1853.

Signed Miles MacDonell.⁴

- 25th *Monday* – at 11 AM Captⁿ McDonell Mess^{rs} Warren,⁵ Mckenie and Thomas Fidler with 14 Men embarked in 2 Boats for YF – Tho^s & some Men to return Immediately from Jack river with a Boat Load of Goods Last Friday Mr Holdsworth⁶ late Surgeon at the Settlement went to remain at the Hudsons Bay Cos House across the river – Men hawling up from the rivers edge the Foundation Logs of a very Large House, and afterwards began to lay the Foundation
- [Fo. 1]
- 26th *Tuesday.* Five Indians came here and Traded from them 252 lb Dry meat & 8 Drest Skins.
- 28th *Thursday* People busily employed daily, about dragging wood for Buildings – & other necessary duty relating to it – Two Men went to Brandon House (Canadians) sent by them the Capt. late Proclamation, to be published there relating to the prohibition of the Free Canadians & other Civilized people running the Buffalo on Horse back, by which means they are driven to a much distance from the Houses & by that means Provisions are rendered scarce and difficult to bring home – This Proclamation was quite agre[e]able to the ideas of the Canadian Traders; who assisted in drawing it up – As there is a great many Settlers here and the Pemmican ought strictly hoarded till winter when very few fish can be got – I hired a Canadian to fish p[er] Dollar and to find him in Hooks Lines &c – There was 2 other Free men previously hired for that purpose but would not procure sufficient to serve us.

⁴ This is Miles Macdonell (1769-1828), also spelled McDonnell and McDonnell in this document. He was appointed Governor of Assiniboia by Lord Selkirk. He was born in Inverness, Scotland and emigrated with his family to the Mohawk Valley, New York, in 1773. The family resettled as Loyalists in Lower Canada in 1783. Miles had become an ensign in the King's Own Regiment in 1782 serving until 1784. He farmed in Upper Canada and in 1794 was a lieutenant in the Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment rising to the rank of Captain in 1796. In 1811, Lord Selkirk selected him as governor of Assiniboia even though many of his relatives were in the NWC. Macdonell had trouble with this venture from his arrival in the RRS in 1812. This included feeding the colonists, which led to the Pemmican Proclamation of 1814, and the restriction of hunting buffalo on horseback. Harassed by the NWC, and unable to control the situation, he surrendered to the NWC in 1815. He was taken to Canada by the NWC to stand trial but was never tried. He returned west in 1816 and helped capture Fort William with Lord Selkirk, and recaptured Fort Douglas in the January of 1817. He then assumed the duties of Governor of the colony through the spring and summer of 1817. Thereafter he returned to Upper Canada. He died in 1828 at Pointe Fortune on the Ottawa River. Herbert J. Mays, "Macdonell, Miles," *DCB Online*.

⁵ John Warren was a Clerk for the Colony who had come out in 1812, as an HBC worker. He never shows up in the employment accounts of the HBC, so must have been employed by the Selkirk Colony. He died of wounds suffered at Fort Douglas during an attack by the NWC/Metis on 11 June 1815. See entry for 11 June 1815 in this document.

Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 175.

⁶ Very little is known of George Holdsworth. He was employed as a "Surgeon" by the HBC at York Factory in 1813, but was transferred to the Selkirk Colony in 1814. He was then appointed to Miles Macdonell's Council. It was Holdsworth who posted the "Pemmican Proclamation" at the NWC post at the Souris River. In 1815 he was at Berens River. Ross Mitchell, "Early Doctors at Red River and Manitoba," *MHS Transactions*, Series 3 (1947-48).

29th *Friday* Finished Building a Kitchen, 15 by 23 feet – and the Women entered into their new habitation – 2 from the Highlands – hired for this purpose some time ago.

31st *Sunday* I read prayers, when several attended.

August 1814

1st *Monday.* 2 of the Companys people went to Brandon House for Tobacco, Flints & Ball as there is none here at this House – & only a few lbs at the Settlement: Hired Three Canadians to fall & raft wood &c – at the usual price given by the Captain the Goods at the same price nearly as sold by the Canadians – wages half a Dollar p[er] Day & find them in Provisions – generally Fresh.

[Fo. 1d]

6th *Saturday* 4 Men are constantly employed at the Large House – this Day, they got up all the posts and Three logs high along the front

7th *Sunday.* Read Prayers.

8th *Monday.* Laid the Foundation of a small house 15 by 22 feet. & Three Canadians employed at it – Engaged a Canadian Bellemeur⁷ to get 700 roofing sticks of 12½ & 15 feet long, and to haul them to the rivers edge for 10 Dollars – the wood of this size is now rather scarce near us. The Fish at this Season is very soft and watery & Bad – had a dispute with the people about always making them eat only fish – I kept firm & would allow them nothing else – whilst they could be got, and keep the Pemmican till winter & for other purposes when which could not be had – when they all went quietly again to their work – 4 Men constantly at the New building – and three Canadians at the Small House – occasionally working them myself in order to expedite the buildings – The 2 people returned from Brandon House – with part of what Goods they went for.

9th *Tuesday* – The Mowers refused to eat fish – those lately come from the Highlands – They are the worst to please & satisfy of all the people – Mr McDonald looks after the Hay makers – 9 fish Cooked for 4 Men 11 Women & boys for one meal – our 12 Men here and all their families use only 12 – 7 is

⁷ The name is Belhumeur (Bellehumeur). There were several Canadian Bellehumeurs in the region at this time: Joseph and Louis. The context here does not permit a solid identification.

cooked for 12 workmen & they find quite sufficient – Got 3 logs entirely round the House and putting in Windows –

10th *Wednesday.* Got on all the roofing stick & part of the Chimney up in the Small House – called the Chateau – Had another dispute with the 2 Women in the Kitchen about them using so much Oatmeal – There is only McKay Donald & Self – on Saturday Night served out 2 Qts Meal & 3 pints flour for us – on Monday Morning the Store Keeper let hem have 225 more – when I told him to give none away without an order – on Wednesday they came again & I would not allow them to have above 1 Gallon p[er] week – which even is too much – but by the interference

[Fo. 2]

of Mr McDonald I allowed them to have that quantity I am positive they make an improper use of some part of it.

13 *Saturday* Finished building the Chimney in the Chateau & hung both Doors, filled up the Cracks in the Walls – it was plastered yesterday – I daily work hard at it myself – everything ready to lay the floor. Last hay cut down to make 15 Tons – and nearly all made – the Mower have 2/6 p[er] Day & the women if spurred in provisions – but they dont work nearly so well as an English Labourer – Water rising fast in the river these 4 Days – from rains in the upper Country – This season the Catfish are bad and what is still worse they are very few – a Canadian Boring & fitting stockades about where the farm house is to be built. – The roof of the Potatoe House fell in & buried under the Earth near 2000 lb of it – busily employed clearing away the rubbish – on Thursday last by an to saw wood for flooring of the Chateau.

14th *Sunday.* Performed divine service. 4 Indians came here with a quantity of Dry Meat Traded with them –

15th *Monday* – Another Indian came here with the Meat Dry & has moose and a young black bear.

16th *Tuesday.* A Canadian arrived here from their House at the entrance of river Winnipeg – says that all the Athapascow Canoes had passed some time since there. – Rain yesterday and got all hands to lay the floor in the Chateau, and one Man till noon finished it – and slept in it this night – This building has been very soon finished – got all the fat carted up from the Potatoe hole – to the House

[Fo. 2d]

- 17th *Wednesday* – Mr McLeod⁸ & Charles Fidler⁹ as interpreter went to Indians 2 Days Journey off – the former purchase all the Furs – the latter all the Provisions, Leather &c for the use of the Settlement – made a new saw pit – began to put on the lower beams on the Large House – Then 4 Men that are always at work at it, work well – Indeed every one behaves remarkably well, and goes about their business with alacrity. – 2 Men grooving window posts – 5 Men cutting down wood for Charcoal – Smith dayly employed at his duty – and obliged to make many Large fish Hooks from large bars of Steel which is a great waste of Labor, Steel & Charcoal & files – although he keeps close at it he can not seldom make more then 30 or 35 p[er] day. Yesterday set the Potatoe cellar to 3 new comers, it is 16 feet square & 9 Deep for 5£ and they are at work at it – They are to be paid in provisions – (i.e. fish) – Yesterday we finished collecting into Cocks 15 Tons of Hay – and on the 15th Inst arrived a Canadian free Man & Indians from Fort Daer¹⁰ in a Canoe sent by Mr McDonald – cont^s 447 lb Dry meat & 209 lb Fatt – The Meat is 19 lb short of weight – he requests Brandy & Tobacco; Indians and Buffalo near there & he is getting plenty of meat.
- 18th *Thursday* – Set a Barn 20 by 30 & 9 high in the Square to 5 Colonists lately arrived – for 6£. They went away this day to cut and raft wood for it – and sent one of the servants of the Settlement with them – The Catfish are now plenty and excellent than two days past.
- 19th *Friday* – Engaged 13 Carts and Horses belonging to the Free men & 2 of our own to hawl home hay & stook it – Price one Dollar p[er] Day p[er] Man, Horse

⁸ This is probably John McLeod (1788-1849), who was born at Stornoway, Scotland in 1788, and entered the service of the HBC in 1811. He sailed for Red River with Miles Macdonell arriving in Red River in 1812. He was much involved in the fledgling Selkirk Colony and in the period 1812 to 1814 he helped to establish the Pembina Post (Fort Daer) and the post at Turtle River in North Dakota. He was back in the Selkirk Settlement in the summer of 1815 and helped to take care of HBC matters there after the colonists had been expelled to Jack River, and he helped re-establish the Selkirk Colony in the fall of 1815. In that year he was transferred to the English River District and was there arrested by the NWC and sent to Montreal in 1817 to stand trial. His case was dismissed and he returned to Red River in 1818. The next season he was again in the English River District where he stayed until 1821. He married Charlotte Pruden in 1819 and at the merger he was made Chief Trader. Thereafter he served in the Columbia District, Norway House and in Lower Canada. He retired from the HBC in 1848 and died suddenly of Cholera in 1849. Sylvia Van Kirk, "McLeod, John," *DCB Online*.

⁹ Charles Fidler (1798-1886) was the son of Peter and Mary Mackegonne (a Native). Charles entered the employ of the HBC in 1812 as a Labourer, working his whole career in the Winnipeg, Swan River and Red River Districts at Brandon House, Curling River, and Fort Dauphin. He quickly became a Steersman and eventually took over from his father as the Master in charge of Fort Dauphin when his father became ill in 1819. The following year (1820-21) he was posted in the Swan River District as an Assistant Trader. He retired in 1821 to the Red River with his wife, Anne Sanderson. He died in the RRS in 1886. HBCA BS. HBCA BS; B.239/d/210 & 216a.

¹⁰ Fort Daer was established by Miles Macdonell, the agent for Lord Selkirk, in 1812. It was named after the eldest son of Lord Selkirk who held the title of Lord Daer. It was located on the south side of the Pembina River near its junction with the Red River and near to where the town of Pembina now sits. After the union of the HBC and NWC, and the determination that the fort was in U.S. territory, the fort was abandoned in 1822.

& Cart & they find themselves in Provisions – They make each cart 3 Trips in 2 hours –

[Fo. 3]

20th *Saturday* Got the assistance of three more Canadian Carts with our own and got home all the Hay – making 1 large Stack & one small one – Mr McLean Thrashing his Barley cut down beginning of August – The Black birds are very destructive to it whilst standing & nearly ripe – Those who undertook building the Barn came home with a raft of wood every thing but roofing sticks – all hands in the afternoon at the Hay.

22nd *Monday* Performed divine Service yesterday – Mr McLeod & Charles Fidler returned from Indians with 42 Swan Skins & 190 lb Dry provisions – Mr McLeod might have had many more Skins, but he had no goods to price for them none were sent from Jack river as expected last Month – except a little barge, which the Natives dont like – at noon Mr Stitt.¹¹ & 9 Men arrived in the Selkirk, two others expected with Settlers from CR & Goods in 4 or 5 Days. they left Jack river 12 Inst – the Capt was there then on the eve of going to YF received a Letter from Him – Mr Heron¹² & 4 Boats & 30 Men left Jack river then for Isle a la crose – They met Mess^{rs} Auld,¹³ Thomas¹⁴ & Hillier¹⁵ below Steel river – Sent away 6 Men to cut down & raft 350 logs for building the Farm House Stables and other outhouses – 3 to log within the Potatoe Cellar – Paid the Indian Guide who conducted Mr McLeod & Charles Fidler 6 pints Indian Liquor and a little Tobacco

¹¹ This is John Stitt. He was an HBC trader in Red River district in the early 19th century. He had originally worked for the XY Company, but around 1810, he was the post manager for the HBC at Pembina. In 1815-16, he was a trader on the Red River, north of Fort Douglas. At that time, he was considered “A weak unactive character.” He was present at Red River during the Fur Trade Wars and was trusted by Chief Peguis. He represented the HBC at the Selkirk Treaty negotiations at Red River in 1817. HBCA B.160/1-3; B.63/f/1, fo. 4d-5.

¹² This is Francis Heron (1794-1840). He joined the HBC in 1812 and retired to England in 1839. For more on this trader see, Ted Binnema and Gerhard Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta 2012), 470-71.

¹³ William Auld (c.a. 1770 - post 1830) was born at Edinburgh, Scotland and spent most of his HBC career connected to Churchill Factory. He entered HBC service in 1790 as a surgeon and became the Chief of Churchill in 1796 and governed as such until 1808. In 1810 he was appointed Superintendent of Northern Factories, a position he held until he resigned in 1813. He was replaced by Thomas Thomas. He opposed the RRS at its inception. In 1814 and 1815 he was retained by the HBC in Rupert’s Land. He retired to Scotland in 1815 and died sometime after 1830. HBCA BS.

¹⁴ Thomas Thomas (c.a. 1766-1828) came from London, England, and entered HBC service in 1789. He served as Superintendent of the Southern Department from 1810 to 1814, and Governor of the Northern Department from 1814 to 1815 when he was replaced by Robert Semple. He spent the year of 1815-16 at Jack River House and convinced Colin Robertson to lead those RRS colonists who had been banished by the NWC in 1815 back to the Red River in 1815. He retired to the Red River Settlement in 1819 and was married to Sarah, a native woman. HBCA *Biographical Sheets (BS)*; Bruce Peel, “Thomas, Thomas,” *DCB Online*.

¹⁵ William Hillier joined the HBC in 1811. He was hired to organize and lead a group of men to directly confront the aggressive NWC. He sailed for York Factory with Miles Macdonell in 1811 and accompanied him to Red River in 1812. There he acted as an agent for Lord Selkirk and came into conflict with Miles Macdonell and Colin Robertson. He left the HBC in 1815, on the pretext that he had not been properly supported. J.M. Bumsted, *Lord Selkirk: A Life* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008), 205-07, 211-12, 238, 247.

- 23rd *Tuesday* Sent 4 pieces of Trading Goods to Fort Daer by the Canadian & Indian, who brot down the Provisions –
- 25th *Thursday* – Mr McKenzie arrived this Morning with 1 Boat & in the Evening Mr Spenser;¹⁶ the 2 Boats & people remained at
[Fo. 3d]
The Frog Plain¹⁷ about 4 miles by land below the settlement – 33 Colonists now arrived, mostly all old people & Children, the more robust arrived here about 22nd June – having walked from CR¹⁸ to YF¹⁹ in April – a deaf boy 9 years old and Dumb – got his leg broke and an arm out of Joint on the passage up – he is a poor creature a miserable object – The rafters returned with only 43 logs – 70 more being fallen, but too heavy to haul to the waters edge –
- 26th *Friday* – The 2 Boats arrived – one the Cuthillen²⁰ containing 5 small boat cargoes – but they got it wet much in Lake Winnipeg so that we must open the greater part and dry – spread it all out to the Sun – and in the Evening stored it
- 27th *Saturday* Hawled up the Cuthillen boat to put fresh rudder work to, the other being slender – Yesterday by on to cut down our Barley – & 2 Men making a Chimney in the Old Hut for Mrs Stewart & family²¹ to reside in; dryed the Goods.

¹⁶ John Spencer (1790-1881) was born in England and joined the HBC in 1806. He spent the first eight years of his employment in the York Factory region. In 1814, he was appointed to the Council of Assiniboia and appointed Sheriff to enforce Miles Macdonell's Pemman Proclamation. As a result of his actions in doing so, he was arrested by the NWC in September of 1814 and sent to Montreal. He was eventually acquitted in 1818 and rejoined the HBC. He served at English River, Columbia, and Rupert's River until 1857 when he retired. HBCA BJ.

¹⁷ Frog Plain was an expanse of wet meadow land about five miles north of Fort Douglas on the west side of the Red River. It is today part of West Kildonan. These wetlands held water most of the year, and were populated by small frogs. Not surprisingly, fur traders, Metis and settlers named the area Frog Plain. As noted in this journal, it was also a location where canoes and York Boats often stopped.

¹⁸ Churchill River

¹⁹ York Factory

²⁰ This is the Schooner Cuchillon. It was built as a sailboat at Fort Daer (Pembina) by the Selkirk settlers in 1813. It had a 35-foot keel and eleven-foot beam. It was sailed to the Forks in the spring of 1813 and served the Settlement in trips to Jack River and back. It also served to take those settlers driven off their lands in 1815 to Jack River. When the Red River Settlement was re-established in the fall of 1815, the Cuchillon was refitted as a "man-of-war" to be moored at the mouth of the Red River to intercept the NWC canoes. The Nor'Westers and Metis, however, overwhelmed the settlement in June of 1816 before the Cuchillon could take on her new role. In 1817 the boat was burnt by the Nor'Westers. Margaret Arnett MacLeod and W.L. Morton, *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963), 30, 39, 75.

²¹ This was Catherine Stewart (age 30), the widow of Donald Stewart who died at Churchill in 1813. They had arrived at Churchill in 1813 from Stromness, Scotland. The children's names were Margaret (8), Mary (5), and Ann (2). Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 93.

- 28th *Sunday* Read prayers – Paid several Canadians off for work done by them this Summer, mostly in Liquor at the rate of a Days work for ½ pint British brandy – The Cripple and Dumb boy died this morning a fortunate circumstance both to itself and Mother –
- 29th *Monday* – Got a Coffin made for the boy & buried him – Sent 6 Men to cut down wood & 2 to drag it to the waters edge for the Building of the outhouses about the Farm Yard – one Man hawling out roofing sticks here – 3 Canadians squaring 50 Log 14½ feet long for Boards for the Flooring of New Building – began to put up the Stockades around the Farm yard – 2 Men repairing the Cuthillien & sail making Charles Fidler making Barn Doors
- 30th *Tuesday* at 10 AM arrived 7 Canadians in Canoes & 1 Batteaux Mess^{rs} Duncan Cameron,²² Alex^r McDonald²³ – Shaw²⁴ – Kennedy²⁵ & Siveright²⁶ – with a flag flying – & the 2 former dressed in regimentals

²² Duncan Cameron (1764-1848) was at this time the proprietor of the NWC Fort Gibraltar at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine River and, as such, in the middle of the dispute between Lord Selkirk and the NWC described in this journal. He was born in Scotland and emigrated as a child to New York. He and his parents came to Canada during the American Revolution in 1784. Duncan joined the NWC in 1784 and was elected a partner in 1800. From 1807 to 1811 he was stationed at Lake Winnipeg, and from 1811 to 1814 at Rainy Lake. In 1814 he was put in charge of the Red River district and headquartered at Fort Gibraltar. He was in the forefront of destroying the Selkirk Colony in 1815. In 1816 he was taken prisoner by the HBC at Fort Gibraltar and sent to England for trial. He was never tried and was released. In 1820 he returned to Canada and settled at Williamstown, Glengarry. He died there in 1848. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), 429-30.

²³ This is really Alexander (Greenfield) Macdonell (1782-1835), the second cousin of Miles Macdonell and in the employ of the NWC. He was born in Greenfield, Scotland, and immigrated to Canada in 1792 with his family. He became a clerk in the NWC in 1803, and in 1809 he was posted to the Red River department. His initial relations with his cousin, Miles Macdonell, were cordial, but when he became a partner of the NWC in 1814, placed in charge of the Red River Department, these relations became bitter and violent. He played a prominent part in the fur trade wars there between 1814 and 1818, and he took the lead in organizing the Metis resistance to the Selkirk Colony in 1815, leading to the first dispersal of the colony. In 1816 he recruited a Metis force, lead by Cuthbert Grant, to seize HBC forts at Qu'Appelle and Brandon, leading inexorably to the Battle of Seven Oaks. He was allowed to escape prosecution, and was never tried. When the NWC and HBC merged in 1821 he retired from the fur trade and moved to Upper Canada. Wallace (ed.) *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 464-65. J.M. Bumsted, "Macdonell (Greenfield), Alexander," *DCB Online*.

²⁴ William Shaw, the Metis son of Angus Shaw, was at this time a clerk in the NWC. He was one of the "chiefs" of the Metis who organized the Metis and Freemen of the English River district to come to Red River. He along with Cuthbert Grant, Nicholas "Bonhomme" Montour, and Peter "Bostonais" Pangman signed the decree dispersing the Selkirk Settlement in 1815. They were taking their orders from Duncan Cameron.

²⁵ Alexander Kennedy had joined the fur trade as an indentured servant with John Ogilvy in 1791. By 1802 he was with the XY Company in the Athabasca. By 1809 he was a clerk in the NWC in the Upper Winnipeg River. From 1812 to 1814 he was at Lake Winnipeg. From 1814 to 1816 he was in the Red River department and took part in many of the struggles noted here, especially at Turtle River. From 1816-18 he was at Sault Ste Marie and he left the company in 1818. Harry W. Duckworth (ed.), *Friends, Foes, and Furs: George Nelson's Lake Winnipeg Journals, 1804-1822* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 408.

²⁶ John Siveright (1779-1856) was born in Scotland and entered the service of XY Company in 1799, and the NWC in 1805. In 1815 he was at Portage La Prairie and was involved in the Selkirk/NWC dispute described here. After the union of the companies in 1821 he served the HBC at Sault Ste. Marie, Fort Coulonge on the Ottawa, and Lake Timiskaming. He was promoted to Chief Trader in 1828 and Chief Factor in 1846. He retired in 1849 and died in Scotland in 1856. Wallace (ed.) *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 498.

[Fo. 4]

They passed close to our Bank, tho' their direct road was on the opposite side – just after they passed the Settlement every man in the Canoes fired off his Gun – & by their report seemed loaded with Ball or Shot – Mr Wells [Wills]²⁷ who was late Manager here, was badly he went out with the Canoes when the Pemmican business was settled, but returned here again – early in July his illness prevented his going farther than Point Trentie – he is still in a very declining state, I believe brot on by Drinking as he was a good deal addicted to that curse – In the afternoon Mr McLeod & 6 Men went to settle at Turtle river²⁸ about 50 Miles above Fort Daer – Men at the Settlement variously employed –

31st *Wednesday*. Heavy rain from 4 to 7 AM & fell 2 Inches & 6 Tenth –

September 1814

1st *Thursday*. Our 2 Boats embarked for Brandon House – a man was sent away several days ago – then to get Horses & Carts to lighten the Boats. – Spoke to Mr Heney's²⁹ Woman to remain here till fall as an Interpreter for the Stone Indians at Brandon House; – as we are very badly off for an Interpreter in that Language – the Canadians very much want her for that purpose – Mr Cameron calls himself a Captain & Alex^t McDonald a Lieutenant, tho it is only clothes got at the Portage – and they are spreading very vigilantly many bad stories to the detriment of the Colony amongst the Settlers – The Cap^t McDonell proclamation I was told by Azure a Canadian Freeman Mr Cameron had torn down that was posted on their Fort Stockade – and hung another up in its place – telling the Free Men to hunt Buffalo on Horse back – and that he and not Cap^t McDonell is the Chief of this Country – he has sent

[Fo. 4d]

²⁷ This is John Wills (d. 1814-15) who became a partner of the XY Company in 1798 and a partner of the NWC in 1804. Shortly thereafter he built Fort Gibraltar at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and was in charge of the Red River district until 1806. He returned to Red River in 1809 and remained in charge until he was replaced by Duncan Cameron in 1814 because of his ill health. He died shortly thereafter. Wallace (ed.) *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 505.

²⁸ This was a location where both the HBC and NWC maintained outposts. It was located at the mouth of the Turtle River where it flows into the Red River in North Dakota.

²⁹ Hugh Heney (1789-1844) worked for both the NWC and HBC, and had an Assiniboine-speaking wife. Heney joined the NWC in the early 19th century and was stationed in the Upper Red River district. By 1808, however, he was working for the HBC in the region. In 1809-10 he travelled to England and on his return became Master at Brandon House (1810-11). The men there, however, mutinied against him and he took over the command of Pembina Post (1812-13). In 1813 he returned to England having disagreed with Miles Macdonell. In 1818 he was back in Montreal where he translated and published Halket's *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement at Kildonan* (London 1817), and Wilcocke's *A Narrative of occurrences in the Indian countries of North America* (London 1817). He was prominent in Lower Canada and died there in 1844. HBCA BS; Wallace (ed.) *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 455-56. Margaret L. Clarke, "Reconstituting the Fur Trade Community of the Assiniboine Basin, 1793-1812 (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1997).

for every freeman in the neighbourhood to come to their House wishing to hire them – to prevent them as usual from killing Buffalo for the support of the Settlement – we hear of only three as yet being Engaged – Got the Large House to the Square at the top

2nd *Friday* All our Wood cutter came home, having cut down the quantity desired, but the late heavy rains prevented their hawling it out to the river – being soft swampy ground – 350 Logs cut & 20 Posts.

3rd *Saturday.* These 3 Days past Mr McDonell & Mr Spenser serving out of the Store goods of various kinds to Settlers. – Dried our pemmican & every thing above stairs, the roof of the House being so very bad that every shower comes thro' – only a single bark roof and badly laid on by the Canadians las Summer – Most all the Free men dancing at the French House – The Canadian Masters here have made a considerable present to Mr & Mrs McLean³⁰ of Cloth, Callico, Tea, Sugar, Liquor &c – and many other articles

4th *Sunday.* Read Prayers – Spoke to Demarey³¹ a Canadian, who is free not to hire with the Canadians – he has lately been their Stone Indian Interpreter at Riviere Qu'Appelle – also heard that Poitras³² had hired with the Canadians, since he got goods out of the Store here to the amount of 99 Dollars – Last Spring he gave Cap^t McDonell a Bond to the amount of upwards of 100£ on a person at Montreal – due him –

5th *Monday* – Self, Mr Spenser & 2 Men went away to Poitras House about 18 Miles from this, to get back the goods from him – in case he has hired with the Canadians – went to his House – only saw his wife; returned and met him about 6 Miles from the Settlement, at Sun set, he had

³⁰ This is probably Alexander McLean/MacLean (c.a. 1780-1816) and his wife Christina Browne. He was born in Argyll, Scotland, about 1780. He was a gentleman farmer and was specifically recruited by Lord Selkirk. He arrived in the Red River Settlement in 1812 with his wife, children, and servant. He had married Christina Browne in Scotland in 1804, and was a principal settler in Red River at this time. Later in 1815, when the colony was re-established after its first dispersal, McLean led a foray to arrest Duncan Cameron, Seraphim Lamar and Charles Hess and capture Fort Gibraltar. In 1816, McLean participated in the Battle of Seven Oaks and was killed. Thereafter, his wife and children travelled to York Factory in order to return to Scotland. Their ship, Prince of Wales, however, got caught in the ice and they were forced to winter at Moose Factory. They returned to Scotland in 1817. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 86; Library and Archives of Canada (LAC), Selkirk Papers, Miles McDonell Journal, C-16. Vol. 63, p. 17028; Alexander McDonell, *A Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country; from the commencement of the Operations of the Earl of Selkirk Till the Summer of the Year 1816* (London: B. McMillan, 1819).

³¹ This is probably Jean Baptiste Desmarais who was employed by the NWC in the Red River district between 1814 and 1817, and participated in the Battle of Seven Oaks. See HBCA BS.

³² This is probably Andre Poitras from Quebec, who was engaged by the NWC at this time and would become one of the founders of St. François Xavier after 1822. He was 67 years old in 1827. HBCA E.5/1.

[Fo. 5]

Been at the NWC House – Mr Cameron & 7 Men all armed met us – when they served a Warrant on Mr Spenser, for Breaking open their Stores at Brandon House last Spring and taking away all their Pemmican and fat – tho he acted on the warrant Maid [sic] for that purpose by Cap^t McDonell – he was conducted to the Canadian House – it was quite dark before we got home – This warrant was signed by Norman McLeod³³ Agent for them –

6th *Tuesday* – All the Settlers & Servants assembled very early this Morning on their account – to liberate Mr Spenser by force – but as the warrant seemed to be Legal, Mr McDonald & self thought that we could not with justice interfere to liberate him by force – they seemed determined to do it on their own account – sent over the following note to the Canadian House.

Red River Settlement
6th Sept 1814

Gentlemen,

Altho we have our opinion regarding the legality of the Warrant you last night executed on Mr Spenser, who acting under the Authority and by the Direction of Capt McDonnell one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace and Governor of the District of Assiniboia certainly cannot be guilty of the Felony laid to his Charge. – we think proper to make this application for his release, at the same time offering Bail or Security to any Amount for his delivery at Your fort at this place by the 15th of next Month, or until the arrival of Cap^t McDonell if before that time as Cap^t McDonell is the real object at which these legal proceedings ought to be levelled, and as Mr Spenser did no

[Fo. 5d]

more, than the duty of his Station imperiously required – we think this demand cannot with any Color of Justice be refused

We remain
Gentlemen
Your Ob^t Servant
Peter Fidler
Arch^d McDonald

No answer was made to this note – at 2 PM, 2 Canoes Embarked of Canadians to carry away Mr Spenser, towards riviere Winnipeg – immediately when the

³³ Archibald Norman McLeod (c.a. 1772-1837) was born in Scotland in 1772 and entered the NWC as a clerk around 1793. He was made partner in 1796. He spent his early career in the lower Fort des Prairies department. From 1802 to 1808 he worked in the Athabasca department and retired as a Wintering Partner in 1809. Thereafter he became a partner of McTavish, McGillivray & Co as an Agent of the NWC and in 1809 became a Justice of the Peace for the Western Territories and then for the Montreal District. As such, he played a primary role in the fur trade wars at Red River between 1815 and 1818, and was one of the instigators of the Battle of Seven Oaks. After the merger of the NWC and HBC in 1821 he retired from the fur trade and moved back to Scotland. He died around 1837. Wallace (ed.) *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 480-81; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archibald_Norman_McLeod.

Men saw this they forcibly rushed into the Store and armed themselves & went down to the river up to prevent the Canoes passing – all our endeavors to hinder them was of no avail – they called to the Men in the Canoes to come on shore but was not listened to – one of our men then fired a Musket just before the Master Canoe, & threatened that if they did not instantly come on shore, they would blow them to pieces as a 3 Pound Cannon was Loaded and pointed at them, and a Man stood ready with a lighted Match, they then approached the shore – but not sufficiently to lay hold of Mr Spenser – he cried much and begged upon his knees that they would suffer him to pass without doing any Injury – and by his violent intreaties [sic] they suffered him to be carried away – he was greatly beloved by every Settler and Servant at the Settlement – Cameron after he had accompanied Mr Spenser down the river a few Miles returned by Land – when some of our Men again ran into the Store and took Muskets & was running

[Fo. 6]

to meet and shoot him – but Mr McDonald happening to be present prevented them – Mr McLean it is said knew of the Warrant for Mr Spenser before it was served – he also says that they have a bundle of warrants to apprehend all those who were busy acting in taking away their provisions or rather in carrying the Cap^t McDonells Proclamation into effect – as they deny all authority coming from him – I am doubtful that there is also a warrant for Mr Howse³⁴ who was concerned in the Business of last Spring – They also very much wish to lay hold of me – Mr Holdsworth³⁵ remained here, not thinking it prudent to go across – as we suspect they have a Warrant for him – as Canadians have these 2 or three night been lurking about our House – we suppose to seize him – Poitras told me that he would not return the Goods until he received the Bond he gave Cap^t Mcdonell last Spring – and he is actually engaged with the NW as well as Demarey when the Cap^t Last winter kept from Starving as the Canadians had turned him out & would not furnish him with any necessary articles – So much for Canadian Gratitude & Virtue they are very little burthened with. Mr Spenser we suppose will be taken out of the reach of Cap^t McDonell this winter – There were two Canoes full of Men, that carried him away – he sat between Cameron

³⁴ Joseph Howse (1774-1852) was a long-time servant of the HBC born in England in 1774. He entered HBC service in 1795 and spent most of his fur-trade career on the North Saskatchewan River. He became an Inland Master in 1810-11 and in that year became the first HBC trader to cross the Rocky Mountains. He also spent some time in in Red River in 1814, and at that time was sent by Miles Macdonell to seize pemmican supplies at Fort La Souris. On his way back to the Selkirk Colony he was arrested by the NWC and taken to Fort Gibraltar. He was release on the intercession of John McDonald of Garth. Further contretemps with the NWC at Ile a la Cross in 1815, convinced him to retire from the HBC and he returned to England. H. Christoph Wolfart, "Howse, Joseph," *DCB Online*.

³⁵ Very little is known of George Holdsworth. He was employed as a "Surgeon" by the HBC at York Factory in 1813, but was transferred to the Selkirk Colony in 1814. He was then appointed to Miles Macdonell's Council. It was Holdsworth who posted the "Pemmican Proclamation" at the NWC post at the Souris River. In 1815 he was at Berens River. Ross Mitchell, "Early Doctors at Red River and Manitoba," *MHS Transactions*, Series 3 (1947-48).

& Seraphin³⁶ a Clerk in 1 Canoe – when our men brot them to – what Canadians were at their House & Indians was sent along shore with Guns to shoot our people – but they did not come near enough, when they saw the Cannon –

[Fo. 6d]

7th *Wednesday* – on Monday Mr McLean cut down all his wheat – Got our Buck Wheat mown – and the principal part of the Barley is cut down with Sickles – Sent 4 Men away to Raft building wood – Two Free Canadians to accompany them – who are living near the Canadian House – ordered Crean³⁷ one of our Men to call for them – Trotier and Bonneau³⁸ who have been working for us at times most part of these 2 months – but they was intimidated by the Canadian Cameron from going along with our Men – Cameron, McDonald, Serephin & man more Canadians surrounded our Man Crean, and held a drawn sword to his head Cameron – & told him he would Box with him, and was otherwise very severely abused by them – he was observed a conspicuous character, amongst our Men Yesterday, when they stopped them at the Settlement – Old Lafontaine began again to work for us he has been badley some time past by a Log of wood hurting his side when rafting for us –

8th *Thursday* – Debois one of our Fishers went away lower down the river – as few are now caught about the Settlement – at Sun Set sent away the Cuthillen boat having had a compleat repair & alteration – to meet the Captain at Jack river – Mr Holdsworth accompanied them – as he was doubtful but the Canadians would make him a prisoner – 5 Men along with the Boat & well armed with 2 Swivels & Muskets in case of any attempts are made to board them – Sent down 20 Bags of Pemmican to Jack river.

9th *Friday* – Carpenters employed sawying wall plates for the Large Building and every person is busily employed every day from 6 to 6 at Night – Settled accounts with Bellemeure³⁹ for cutting roofing sticks –

[Fo. 7]

10th *Saturday* – Six men came home with Rafts about 200 Logs The Canoe that carried away Mr Spenser to riviere Winnipeg returned on Sunday Evening –

³⁶ This is Seraphin (Seraphim) LaMar a clerk of the NWC and a “Voyageur Ensign” from the War of 1812. He was enlisted by the NWC, along with the Metis headed by Cuthbert Grant, to destroy the Selkirk Colony. He was designated by Cuthbert as his second in command before the Battle of Seven Oaks. Among others, he was captured in 1816 when Selkirk recaptured Fort Gibraltar, and he was sent to Canada for trial.

³⁷ Michael Crean (Crián, Cryan) came to Red River on the *Robert Taylor*, as a labourer of the HBC, in 1812. He came from Sligo, Ireland and appears to have gone over to the NWC in 1815. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 174. HBCA A.32/24, fo. 405.

³⁸ Also known as “Old Bonneau”, this was Jean Baptiste Bonneau (1752-1842). He is listed as employed by the NWC in 1811, and is listed in the Red River censuses for White Horse Plain/St. François Xavier for the years 1827-38. HBCA BS.

³⁹ The name is Belhumeur (Bellehumeur). There were several Canadian Bellehumeurs in the region at this time: Joseph and Louis. The context here does not permit a solid identification.

The other had only gone a little way down the river till they supposed all opposition would Cease

11th *Sunday* Read Prayers as usual –

12th *Monday* – Employed hawling up the Rafts – Carpenters got some wood across the river for the Large House – also for Posts & ridge Pole for the Old Building, which wants a better roof – Received a Letter from Mr Spenser – also some Books he had in his box – sent from their House at Winnipeg river – he says they are very kind to him – and appears by his writing to have become a convert to the Norwest Companys opinion – on Friday Alex McDonald now a Proprieter & Serephin with their Canoes for Brandon House & Riviere Qu’Appelle – although they brot in 7 Canoes and one Boat, I don’t believe they have even so much Goods as Last Year – this is only to show the Settlers & Natives that they are determined to carry on their business in spite of every opposition from the Settlement – The Smith finished mounting two brass Swivel Guns – Poitras, Demarey & Hamlin accompanied the Canadians as Servants to Brandon House – they are giving every encouragement to every Freeman, not to assist the Settlement in any way whatever – and they express themselves openly that the Settlement was merely established to ruin their business – but that they would sooner be the ruin of the Colony – and try whose heads were hardest, such is the Language they hold forth.

[Fo. 7d]

13th *Tuesday*. The 4 Men finished the Barn. Sent away Six Men to raft more wood – & 2 horses to drag it out.

14th *Wednesday*. The 3 Men finished the Potatoe cellar – put on the ridge poles on the New House – Frost yesterday morning which destroyed the Potatoe Tops, & Indian Corn –

15th *Thursday* – Three Canadians at work for us grooving posts &c for the Farm yard – the House & building all to be joining one another near 80 feet long & 17 wide

17th *Saturday*. Rafters came home with 125 Logs, got all the 13 posts up at the Farm yard – and layed upon logs – Led home some wheat, the Barley was carted home 3 Days ago – The Barley is 101 stacks of 12 sheaves each – Plenty of Fish is now to be got, – Duncan McNaughton⁴⁰ doing very little since the Captⁿ went

⁴⁰ Duncan McNaughton/MacNaughton (1783-1816), from Kilmonivaig, Inverness-shire, was a settler who came out on the *Robert Taylor* in 1812. He was, at times, employed by Miles Macdonell as a Constable, and in April of 1815, delivered a

away, – but walking about looking over a few Women & boys hoeing Potatoes in the Season – & about the Corn – The Canadian Canoe for Portage des prairies went away a few days ago – & Mr Kennedy to Turtle river – myself badly with a Cold these three Days – we have no Boats here to do any thing, the Settlers take them away to deprive us of the use of them – Spoke to a Canadian to make Soap – for the use of the new Settlers – Hung the Barn doors Yesterday & the Potatoe house Door; one of the Canadian fishers left off fishing – settled with him – he is still due us 195 fish equal to near 90 Dollars – he is going up to Pambina before the Cold weather sets in – Hired another Canadian at 12 Dollars p[er] Month till the Cap^t arrives – the Goods at the Canadian prices – which will bring it below 1 shilling p[er] Day.

18th *Sunday*. Read Prayers –

[Fo. 8]

19th *Monday*. Charles & 4 Canadians building the Farm House a Sheep House, Stable, Cow House a Pig Sty all on an end – The 4 Carpenters busily employed daily at the Large House & the others variously employed

20th *Tuesday*. Led home the Buck wheat, Wheat, Barley and Oats should be sown latter end of April or beginning of May – this year they were sown too Late – the fall coming on before they were completely ripe. Archibald Curry⁴¹ refused to dig sod alone; another man at it – he wished to work along with him – by that means I could not tell whether they both worked well or not – as by each digging separate, it could easily be determined – by his obstinate refusal to work separate, I was obliged to put him off duty till the Cap^t's arrival – One Man hawling wood for Miles Livingstons⁴² House – Took up Mr McLeans Potatoes he disposed of to the Captain The Settlers have got of them about 16 Bushels each House – Sixteen Canoes of Indians arrived from Lake Winnipeg with some Indian rice –gave them a treat amongst them 1 f^m Tobacco & 1 Q^t Spirits and they traded some with us –

21st *Wednesday*. Finished covering the Large House with roofing and finished the walls of the Farm House except the wall plates – Six more Canoes of Indians arrived from below with some Indian rice –

warrant to Fort Gibraltar. He was killed in the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 174. LAC, Selkirk Papers, C-13, Vol. 49, p. 13,415.

⁴¹ There is no record of an Archibald Curry being employed by the HBC, so he must have been a servant of the Colony.

⁴² Miles Livingston was a Selkirk Settler who arrived at Red River in 1812 aboard the *Robert Taylor*. He, his wife, and two children travelled from Red River to Canada in 1815 after he deserted to the NWC. George Bryce, *The Romantic Settlement of Lord Selkirk's Colonists* (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1909), 324.

22nd *Thursday*. By application of Mr McDonald, and the humble petition of Archibald Curry, that he would never refuse any duty again I allowed him to work again, but to have him fined for his disobedience – the first Man who [h]as done the like since the Cap^t went away – Took up the Indian Corn and began to Plow by land Cut down our Oats – the worst crop we have, being sown too late – Two Carpenters sawying plank for flooring –

[Fo. 8d]

four Canadians across and cut down 400 roofing sticks for Farm House – 5 men covering the Large House with Sods, they covered $\frac{1}{4}$ of it – 2 leading them home in Carts – one man casting Ball very fine hot weather – Yesterday a heavy Gale at WSW – Traded a Horse from an Indian 3 Galls of Indian rum – that is equal to 2 Quarts Spirits –

23rd *Friday* – Took up the last of the Indian Corn, a deal of it eaten by the Horses & Cows – by breaking down the Fence in the Night although Duncan McNaughton has his Tent pitched and sleeps in it close at it. – Paid an Indian for the Meat of 4 Moose he put in in the Summer – cut down the last of our Barley two sided Ears – the other has Six – 5 Men finished covering one side of the Large House with sods

24th *Saturday* – Got on the Beams on the Farm House – Men employed as before

25 *Sunday*. Visited all the Settlers Houses – Mr Shaw a Canadian Clerk came over here –

26th *Monday* Put up a Flag staff. I finished making 4 Ladders – as there were none about the House – one Man Laying the Floor over the Captains room and Grooving the Boards. Got 4 Kegs of Ashes from Minni for Soap –

27th *Tuesday*. Rain – Men variously employed within Doors.

28th *Wednesday*. Finished covering the House with Sods – The Canadians did not work for rain these two Days, lent Mr McKenzie 1 Gallon Spirits – Traded 3 Horses & 4 Canoes from the Indians – One Man Net making some time ago – & finished 2nd Net Sturgeon 21 lb Twine – 60 fm Long – 10 Inch Mesh & 14 Meshes deep/ Took of[f] the Earth from the new built Potatoe cellar as the ridge pole broke down & put a much stronger one in its place – all the Indian corn home & husked – Indians drinking trading rice

[Fo. 9]

29th *Thursday* Got all the roofing sticks down for Farm Yard – and covered part of it in – 10 Men & 10 Women taking up our Potatoes – Sent 5 Men away to raft – & three to Burn Charcoal for Smiths use, before the Cold weather sets in

30th *Friday* – one of the Canadians left off work yesterday Settled his account with him – Hawled up Potatoes from below & put into Cellar; finished covering in the Farm House with roofing Sticks and built up the Ends – Traded another Horse from Indians – some of the Freemen got Goods out of the Warehouse who was working for us –

October 1814

1st *Saturday* Old Bonneau not coming to work as usual this Morning – I sent away Charles to tell him to come and work but immediately heard from Trotier that he did not intend to work any more for us, tho he got several articles of Goods from the Store last Night; in the whole he is due the Settlement 53½ Dollars – I immediately after hearing this I went with Austin Joyce⁴³ the Store Keeper, before Charles returned, to insist on his working for us as he was due so much – I put a small Pocket Pistol into my Coat Pocket & put on my Sword – & on the way we met Charles coming back – he had found Bonneau at his Tent – he had desired him to come and work for us – he told him absolutely he would work no longer & that he set us at defiance – Charles returned with us – & I entered his Tent but he was not there – I asked his woman & Children where he was at it was not 10 Minutes since Charles spoke to him – they said they did not know – there were two other Canadian Tents near his I asked them if they knew where he was – they said they did not know – but Old Marsolais⁴⁴ told me he saw him go

[Fo. 9d]

up the Track with his Gun – we all three proceeded up it about 300 yards from his Tent – when we met Bonneau and one of the NW Companys servants coming down the Track – in meeting one another, at the distance of about 8 yards. Bonneau jumped on one side of the Track and immediately leveled his Gun at me and fired which was loaded with shot – he cut the Pocket of my Coat, the shot went thro it & grazed my Trowsers – & 4 Shot marked the Barrel of the Pistol I had in my Pocket – immediately on firing the Gun he rad hard

⁴³ Austin Joyce was a settler from Westport, Ireland, who arrived aboard the Robert Taylor. He is identified as being 22 years old in 1812, and was known for playing the Fife. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 175.

⁴⁴ This was Baptiste Marsolais, born about 1767 in Canada. In 1785 he married Angelique Assiniboine. In Peter Fidler's list of Free Canadians in the Red River District of 1814 and 1819 he is listed with a wife and 2 boys in 1819. Ruth Swan, "The Crucible: Pembina and the Origins of the Red River Valley Metis (University of Manitoba, PhD dissertation, 2003), 254. See also Peter Fidler's "General Report of the Red River District 1819," HBCA B.22/e/1, fo. 10-10d. A transcription of the report can be found at: <https://rtparchivepress.files.wordpress.com/2021/01/fidler-complete-1819.pdf>

down the Track till about 100 yd from his Tent when he eased his pace & reloaded his Gun again. Fortunately I received no injury – we followed him and when he got to his Tent he again presented his Gun at Me and said if I came any nearer he would shoot me – we was obliged to desist – and return home – Charles Fidler & Austin Joyce was not five yards from me when he fired – Mr McDonald and Self again went to his Tent but he presented his Gun and would not allow us to come near him – we returned – in the afternoon he sent old Peltier to tell us that he would settle with us if I would go there with his account – Mr McDonald & self consulted & we judged it best to seize & confine him at least till the Captains Arrival – he and 3 or 4 Men went there & he supposing that they were going to settle his account allowed them to come pretty near him – when he immediately ran away towards the Canadian House but one of our Men soon caught him – and he coughed out for assistance from other Free Men who was present, but none offered him any – they too him to our House when we shut him

[Fo. 10]

Up in a Cabbin in the Kitchen and kept a regular watch all Night – His Wife & Children followed him all the way the former brandishing a Hatchet at times as if she would do mischief with it – When Mr McDonald & self went he had sent for Mr Cameron to be interpreter, & now accompanied him – I told Cameron what a large sum he was due us & that he had no other way to pay it but in Labor – but he absolutely refused to work any Longer –

2nd *Sunday* Mess^{rs} Cameron & Shaw came over here – and very much wished to persuade us to release Bonneau, as he said it would be attended with a great deal of trouble in order to persecute him in Canada – and that as the shot had only torn away the Pocket of my Coat & drawn no blood it could not be considered as any thing wrong and other such like sophisticated reasons – Bonneau cryed a good deal this Day & his family came to see him – appointed James MacIntosh to constantly take care of the Prisoner – we allow his family fish every day when we have it to spare – and Bonneau lives the same as his keeper – Read Prayers as usual

3rd *Monday.* Men variously employed & 5 rafting wood for Buildings –

4 *Tuesday* These 3 Days 3 Canadians digging Sods to cover the Farm Houses & we have Traded now 9 Canoes & 8 Horses from Indians, very cheap – mostly Liquor – The Canoes is for the use of the Settlers next Summer, to fish with – as they ought then to find themselves in Fish –

5th *Wednesday* Set 2 Canadians to build the Chimney in the Farm House – others covered the House part with sods

[Fo. 10d]

6th *Thursday* – Covered the House about $\frac{2}{3}$ with Sod – and they were so heavy – and the wall plates being poplar, and hewn too small, the whole roof fell in that was covered, and even tore out the posts of the walls to the very foundation – employed clearing away the wreck and got the posts up again, and some part of the walls – luckily nobody received any hurt – 2 Men building the Chimney – 3 Carpenters got two ridge poles and one post for the House built last summer – as we mean to cover it with sods in preference to Bark – as they are both tighter and warmer than Bark. – Yesterday the Carpenter finished laying the flooring over the Captain's Cabbin and Dining room – hauling up the rafts brot down last night 207 logs – sent 2 Canadians across to cut down oak wall plates & 6 oak Beams for the Farm House – one Man hawling them – water rising very fast these 5 Days – yesterday set fire to two charcoal kilns – on Monday when our Men went up Pambina river to raft they met Bonneaus daughter going down in a Canoe – at 8 PM the same evening the men say that two Canoes on Containing 5 or 6 Men and the 2 remained in the river opposite them till near Morning before they went away – at first they were discovered at the Stern of their rafting boat, our people called to them in both English and Indian – but no answer was returned – our men then fired the only pistol they had with them, when they left the Boat & went towards the middle of the river where they remained till near Morning – we cannot conjecture who or for what purpose they were here – as all the Men declare the above story true – in my opinion it is unaccountable –

[Fo. 11]

7th *Friday*. Hawled part of the Raft up and got home 12 pieces of oak for Wall plates and Beams for Farm House also one ridge pole & post for big House built last Summer

8th *Saturday* – Hawled out all the raft, could find no Horses to Plow or Haul up Logs these two Days – finished taking up the Potatoes – received 23 bushels Potatoes from John Conway⁴⁵ at 2/6 p[er] bushel according to the Captains prior agreement.

9th *Sunday* – at 8 AM 2 Men arrived from Brandon House with a Horse & Cart to wait for the Fall Boats coming up. Received a Letter from Mr Spenser brot by 2 Canadians from Winnipeg river – Dated Lac La Pluie, 20th Sep^r – he seems by it in a desponding way – he requested that any thing brot up for him by the

⁴⁵ A Selkirk Settler who arrived in 1812.

Boats in the Fall should be taken care of – Men from Brandon House say that Mr McKay⁴⁶ had gone away for Riviere Qu'Appelle 10 Days before the Canadians arrived – & that they went away to settle there with 22 Carts – In Summer a considerable number of Fall Indians who live with the Mandans at the Missouri river were killed by the Stone Indians & many Women & Children brot away as Slaves – also a considerable number of Horses – When Mr McKay arrived at Riviere Qu'Appelle, the Canadian House was still Smoaking, being lately burnt down as is supposed by a Large band of Mandans & Fall Inds come in Search of the Stones who had some short time ago massacred their Countrymen. – The Canadians seem determined to have Provisions at Riviere Qu'Appelle cost what it will – to prevent its benefitting RRS. which they have a mortal hatred against. – Read Prayers –

[Fol. 11d]

- 10th *Monday.* 3 Men digging sods to cover the old House – Charles & 3 Canadians working at the Farm House – Carpenters & all the rest across the river to bring home a ridge pole – but it was so large they could not manage it
- 11th *Tuesday.* No Fish these 4 Days, they seem now to have all gone down to the Lake (Catfish) – Sent again and got the large ridge pole across 9 in company – finished burning and quenching 2 Charcoal Kilns 8 Chords of wood each –
- 12th *Wednesday.* Cap^t Grant an Indian⁴⁷ & 4 others came here to see Cap^t McDonell to receive presents from him – Traded from them 20 pieces of Dry meat they brought. – Farm house ready again for the ridge poles – Traded many Duck from Indians and some rice –
- 13th *Thursday* – Plastering the Large new House –
- 14th *Friday* Covered the Farm House with Sods, and hung one Door above Carpenters shed in New House, other men variously employed –

⁴⁶ This John Richards McKay (1792-1877). At this time, he was stationed at the HBC Qu'Appelle River House, and in late 1815 would rebuild the post after the NWC destroyed it. He was born in 1792 to John McKay, a Scottish fur trader, and Mary Favell. Educated in England, John Richards McKay joined the HBC in 1808 and worked first at Brandon House, under his father, and then at Qu'Appelle House after his father died in 1810. He worked at various posts in the Red River district until he retired to the RRS in 1824. He rejoined the HBC as a Clerk in 1831 and would work in the Swan River district until he retired in 1859 as Post Master in the Touchwood Hills. He had married Harriet Ballenden at Brandon House in 1816 (they had 12 children), and Catherine White (three children). He died and was buried in St. Clements in 1877. T.R. McCloy, "McKay, John Richards," *DCB Online*; HBCA BS; B.22/d/5.

⁴⁷ According to Peter Fidler's Report of the Manitoba District in 1820, Captain Grant, or Oc ke now es cum, was an Indian formerly from Severn Factory who resided at the half way bank (on the Assiniboine River between Brandon House and Portage la Prairie), with 6 or 8 others, and had two houses built in the European manner. The rest lived in tents, and the whole was enclosed with Pickets. They had gardens like a little farm, where they remained during the Summer, but at the latter end of the Autumn they dispersed to hunt furs. HBCA B.51/e/1.

- 15th *Saturday* – Every thing ready to cover the old House with sods but as Cap^t McDonell is daily expected we don't like to take away the old roof – as it will be a work of 4 or 5 Days to get on the new one – Hawling home roofing sticks
- 16th *Sunday* – Read Prayers – last night one of the Settlers set fire to the Grass about 3 Miles below which raged violently and this evening came near our Houses, we were all very actively employed till 11 PM – keeping it from doing us any Injury – several small parcels of Hay was burnt belonging to the Settlers as they expect some young Cattle coming this Fall – the Grass being long, and wind fresh, it is awful to see it rage so violently.
- [Fo. 12]
- 17th *Monday* – Very few Fish to be caught – most all the Sturgeon seem to have gone down to the Lake – 5 Men plastering the Large House – Two Carpenters putting up Gates at the Farm Yard Pickets – Others variously employed – we have got a great deal of Work done this Last 3 months with 12 Men left here – and people worked very cheerfully & well –
- 18th *Tuesday* – Finished making and Hanging the Gates at the Farm Yard, Sent 2 Men to boat home roof sticks & the Boat sunk with them in the Middle of the river – but Indians seeing them immediately went to them with Canoes, & brot them ashore safe – Many who has been some time waiting here for the arrival of Cap^t McDonell. – An Indian Chief Pigwes or the Ashes & another man accomp^d the Cap^t down to the Bay. Men variously employed. Capⁿ Grant an Indian tells bad stories when he is drunk about their Lands being taken from them – this is put into his head by the Canadians – all others seem glad to see white people Come to Cultivate their Lands & they imagine that for the future they will want nothing.
- 19th *Wednesday* at 2 PM Cap^t McDonnell, Mess^{rs} Bourke,⁴⁸ Warren & Surgeon White⁴⁹ arrived here in 4 small & 1 Large Boat – They left YF 11th Sept^r – The Large Boat was driven on shore by a Gale of Wind in the Night & much property unfortunately lost – some say about 14 Pieces of Public Property – and much private property – which detained them 7 Days in repairing the Boat & Drying the Goods – Fired 7 Cannon on the Cap^t Arrival – The Indian Chief

⁴⁸ John Palmer Bourke (1791-1851) was born in Ireland in 1791 and came to the RRS with the Selkirk Colonists in 1812-13. He became a storekeeper there and was injured in the Battle of Seven Oaks. He was taken to Montreal for trial for his participation in the events of 1815-18, but was acquitted. He returned to the RRS in 1819 and worked for the HBC until 1823. Thereafter, he became a clerk of the Governor of Assiniboia and became a clerk at the HBC post at Pembina until 1829. In 1835 he purchased the HBC Experimental Farm and from 1845 to 1846 was in charge of the HBC post at Pembina. He died and was buried in the Red River Settlement in 1851. He was married to Nancy Campbell (1792-1887) and they had nine children. HBCA BS.

⁴⁹ This is James White who was later killed in the Battle of Seven Oaks of 19 June 1816.

arrived along with the Captⁿ. They found very good Grindstones in Lake Winnipeg & brot 7 here –

[Fo. 12d]

20th *Thursday* – Employed ballancing [sic] and settling with the Canadians who had accompanied the Cap^t to YF – paid them all off for their Labour done –

21st *Friday*. Went over to the Canadian House with 3 or 4 others – and read and delivered an order from Captⁿ McDonnel for them to quit the place they now occupy at the Forts before the expiration of Six Months – he Mr Duncan Cameron was very much alarmed when I delivered the paper to him – on my first taking it from my pocket, he turned pale and expected it was a warrant to apprehend him. – Mr Wills in a very declining State – Cap^t McDonnel has drawn out similar orders for the Canadian Settlement at riviere Winnipeg – Turtle river – Brandon House – Carlton House – & Fort Dauphin – Portage des Prairies & Riviere Qu'Appelle none to be sent to – as they are only built this year on a new spot of Ground –

22nd *Saturday* – Got ready to carry a similar order to Dugald Cameron⁵⁰ at Riviere Winnipeg – Sent away the Cuthellen & 20 Men to Pambina to Winter.

23rd *Sunday*. at 7 AM We Embarked in a boat 7 Men – and we put up at the Entrance of the Lake at 4½ PM – the wind not being favourable to enter it –

24th *Monday* – Got away at 3 AM got breakfast at the Deers Island at 9 AM – arrived at Mr Camerons House at 4 PM – & read and delivered an order to leave their post before the expiration of Six Calendar Months; came away again after remaining there 1 hour & looking about his House – They have several acres of Land in Tillage producing principally wheat – at 9 PM we was driven ashore by a Gale of wind – Waited 2 hours at the Entrance of Winnipeg

[Fo. 13]

River and took the following observations.

[6 lines of Measurements]

25th *Tuesday* Lay by till 1 PM for Wind – & took the Suns Double Meridian Altitude . . . The Mouth of river bearing true S 34° E9 Miles – Put on the South side the

⁵⁰ John Dugald Cameron (1777-1857) was born in 1777 and entered the service of the NWC in 1795. In 1811 he was in charge of the Lake Winnipeg district and in 1813 was made Partner of the NWC. He took part in the struggles between the NWC and HBC regarding the Selkirk Colony. After the Union of the two companies in 1821 he was made Chief Factor. He retired in 1844 and retired near Cobourg, Upper Canada. Wallace (ed.) *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 430.

Sandy bar at 5 PM – although a sail Wind the waves so high & night coming on we were obliged to stop after shipping much water.

26th *Wednesday*. Sharp frosty night & became calm, at 2½ AM we got underway & arrived at the Entrance of red river at 10½ AM – put up where Mr Hillier wintered this last Season –

27th *Thursday* – At 2½ AM we again Embarked and got to the Settlement at 5 PM –

28th *Friday* – at 5½ PM Mr James Sutherland⁵¹ with 4 Men & 2 Indians arrived here in a Boat from Jack river which place he left the 19th inst – received Letters from YF 3rd Inst – Old Bonneau called in & Pegwis⁵² the Indian Chief & McKay a Canadian became bound for his appearance at any time he might be required, on account of Shooting at Me – he is at present liberated on account of the Large family he has – Seraphim a Canadian Clerk arrived from riviere Qu'Appelle – Most of the Freemen are gone away to Pambina to Hunt.

[Fo. 13d]

29th *Saturday* – Sent away about 8 men to Fort Daer – also one Cow –

31st *Monday*. At 2 PM Mr Sutherland & 3 men went away for Brandon House – he is to pass by Swan river – and carries the Notices to the Canadians quit Brandon

⁵¹ James Sutherland (1778-1844) was born at Ronaldshay, Orkney Islands, and engaged with the HBC in 1797. He was stationed at Edmonton House as a writer (1798-1803), and then as a writer at Cumberland House and Green Lake. He became a Trader and Master at Cumberland House from 1808 to 1811, and then assigned to the Winnipeg District (1811 to 1813). After a furlough home in 1813, he was put in charge of the Winnipeg and Western Winnipeg Districts (1814 to 1816). That is how he enters the story here. He was imprisoned by the NWC and Cuthbert Grant on 9 May 1816 while stationed in the Qu'Appelle. Thereafter he was put in charge of the Swan River District (1816-1818) and thereafter in charge of the Forks (1818-19) and Swan River (1819-21). After the merger of the HBC and NWC he was made Chief Factor of the Saskatchewan District (1821-22), and finished his career as Chief Factor at Severn (1823-25). Thereafter he was on medical leave and retired to the Red River Settlement in 1827. He married Jane Flett (1785-1835) with whom he had seven children. After Jane died, he married an "Indian woman." Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *The Hudson's Bay Company: Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Edmonton), 482; HBCA BS.

⁵² Chief Peguis (c.a. 1774-1864) was a Saulteaux Chief born around 1774 near the Sault Ste Marie area. His name is also spelled here as Pegwis and is sometimes referred to as the Cut Nose Bungee Chief, as his nose had been bitten off in 18012. He was the son of an Anishinaabe woman and a French fur trader and as a young man led a group of Saulteaux westward to the Red River, where they established themselves at Netley Creek. He was a friend the Europeans in the area as evidence here, and in 1816 warned Governor Semple of the plans of the NWC to destroy the Red River Settlement. He was one of the five chiefs to sign the 1817 Selkirk Treaty with the Cree and Saulteaux of the Red River Region. In 1832, he was persuaded by the missionary William Cockran to settle in a community just north St. Andrew's, which by 1836 was known as St. Peter's. He was baptized into the Anglican Church in 1840, and took the name William King, and his children used the last name Prince. He died in 1864.

House & Charlton Ho.⁵³ Got a Mare from Bonneau to the value of 30 Dollars as part payment for his Credit due RRS. –

November 1814

9th I got fitted out by Cap^t McDonnell & one Man accompanied me to Brandon House. when we arrived 12th – & where I pass the Winter – 22nd Inst Mr Sutherland set off to go by the way of Riviere Qu'Appelle Charlton & Swan river Houses –

May 1815

19th *Friday* on the 15th Ins^t left Brandon House with 3 Boats – Men left there for the Summer are Mr James Inkster,⁵⁴ Thomas Fidler, & 5 Men – brot from thence 204 Bags Pemmican made at Riviere Qu'Appelle & 1400 lb Fat – at 7 PM arrived at the Colonial Establishment, all well but found that nearly all the Settlers that have come to the Country these two last Years had gone over to the Canadian House with some contracted Servants amounting in the whole to upwards to upwards of 90 Persons thru the persuasions & intimidations of Mr Duncan Cameron a NWC^o Proprietor.– Water remarkably high in the Red River, overflowing its banks to a considerable distance the water at Fort Daer rose to within 4 Inches of the upper part of the Door within the Fort. The water rather lower than usual in the North Branch, and dam[m]ed up above the forks above 10 miles, tho the river has considerable decent – Very deep Snow in the Red river this winter & most all the Horses died in consequence – Mr McLean sowed about 2 Bushels of wheat, ½ a Bushel was sown at Brandon House 26th April – a few Days before we arrived Mr Alexander McDonald a Canadian Proprietor came to the Forks with 10 Southern Indians on his Batteaux from river Qu'Appelle brot down expressly to drive away the Colonists, he could get no

[Fo. 14]

men to accompany him – although he gave large presents of Liquor &c to many others at that place – but only then few accompanied him; they had been over to see Cap^t McDonnell, and promised a Treat of Liquor the morrow, but the NWCo would not allow them to receive it – They told what the Canadians had

⁵³ Fidler here probably means the location of Fort Hibernia. In 1795, Fidler built a Carlton House on the Assiniboine River above the Elbow of the Assiniboine. This closed in 1800 and the HBC built Fort Hibernia at the Indian Elbow about 14 miles below Fidler's initial post. In 1807, the HBC removed Fort Hibernia to Fidler's original location. At this date (December 1815) Fidler refers to this post on the Assiniboine River as Charlton House, probably to distinguish it from Carlton House on the Saskatchewan. The NWC post at this location was Fort Alexandria

⁵⁴ James Inkster (1773-1854) was born in Orphir, Orkney Islands, and joined the HBC in 1796. He worked as a Cooper at Albany until he was transferred to Brandon House in 1805. Here he married a Cree wife. He worked at Brandon House until 1821 as a Cooper and Boatbuilder and retired in 1823 to settle at Red River. HBCA BS.

promised them, and that they were deceived, & cheated and that they should immediately return – This Morning 5 of RRS horses were found killed with Arrows, and given out by the Canadians that they were shot by the Indians – and that any of the Settlers who did not enter the Canadian House and thro themselves on their protection would be scalped by the Indians – These people when by the Canadian threats & persuasions would not all consent to go to Canada, now called in aid the Indians to compleat their purpose of utterly breaking up the Colony – which the Canadians or NWCo are determined to effect, they hesitate at nothing to effect their purpose – They have been the means of keeping the Free men & their Sons in Arms most part of the Winter & many bad actions have been done by them in defiance of all Law – Six Settlers who came out Last fall & wintered at Turtle river deserted & went to the Canadian Settlement at Leech Lake, being furnished with provisions & a Guide by the NWCo – all the other Colonists & servants who have gone away the greater part are at the Canadian Settlement at the entrance of Winnipeg river especially the Old Men, Women & Children – about 20 remains at the Canadian House here at the Forks call by them Gibraltar⁵⁵ – had there been no Canadians near the Settlement the Settlers would have been both Contented and happy as they were all so until some time after the arrival of the NWCo Canoes – The few Settlers remaining are now busily employed in the use of the Hoe, who has not got Ploughs. Mr Pritchard⁵⁶ who lately arrived from Canada is also very busey – with 2 Men – his lot is about 80 acres.

[Fo.14d]

20th *Saturday* – Mr Dugald Cameron in a Canoe with several Canadians Landed below & spoke to McNalty⁵⁷ – They also seemed to wish to Land at Mr

⁵⁵ Fort Gibraltar was built by the NWC at the Forks of the Red River (south of the Assiniboine River and west of the Red River) in 1810. It was captured in 1816 and destroyed by the HBC and Selkirk Settlers, but was rebuilt by the NWC in 1817. After the merger of the two companies in 1821 it was renamed Fort Garry by the new HBC (1822).

⁵⁶ John Pritchard (1777-1855) was an Englishman who came to Canada in 1800 and entered the fur trade soon after. He served the XY Company until 1804 and the Northwest Company until 1814. In that year his supply of pemmican was confiscated by the governor of Assiniboia and he was labelled as a coward by the NWC. He then quit the NWC and went to Montreal. There he was recruited by Colin Robertson to settle at the Red River Settlement. He arrived in April of 1815. He was at the battle of Seven Oaks and was captured by the Metis. He was held captive by the NWC for several years and taken to Montreal and York where he testified at the trial of Colin Robertson and others in 1818. Thereafter he travelled to London where he lobbied for the protections of the RRS. He returned to the Colony in 1820 and became a leading citizen of the colony, serving on the Council of Assiniboia until 1848, Carol M. Judd, "Pritchard, John," *DCB Online*.

⁵⁷Patrick McNalty (McNaulty, McNolty, McNulty) and his wife, Winifred, came to Red River with settlers in 1812 aboard the *Robert Taylor* from Ireland. He was engaged to the HBC for one year to pay for his passage, and thereafter became a settler. After the events of 1815 depicted here, he, his wife and two children went to Jack River until resettled in Red River in fall of 1815. After the Battle of Seven Oaks, the family travelled north to the Winipic Settlement on Lake Winnipeg and then on to York Factory to return home. The ship (*Prince of Wales*), however, was late in arriving and never made it through the ice. The passengers were left at Moose Factory for the winter, and in spring of 1817, Pat McNulty and his wife and family went by boat further east to Canada on their way home. In the spring of 1818 they were in York, Upper Canada where Mrs Winnifred McNalty/McNolty testified in the Selkirk Trials. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 96-99, 174; HBCA

Pritchards House, and it was supposed that they wished to carry him away – as they find he is very useful to the Colony, & when the Canadians see him settled that several other Canadian Servants might follow his Example – a Guard of 9 Men was immediately sent down there & prevented their Landing – We are obliged to keep Guard Night & Day – McNalty & Mr Pritchard left their residence & came up to live in the Public buildings, for safety. – at Sun Set several vollies of Muskets were fired at the Canadian House, & we heard the Bag pipes playing – both the Pipers are with the NWCo. – Mr Sutherland & self went down to see all the few remaining Settlers that were not yet gone & told them to pay no attention to the stories spread by the NWCo. about the Indians would very soon kill them if they did not leave their little farms – all those who are remaining very busily employed sowing Corn & planting Potatoes. –

21st *Sunday* – all hands mustered and told not to visit the Canadian House – They were afterwards formed by Cap^t McDonell into four Divisions at drill & various evolutions – and ammunition given them in case of an attack by the Canadians, which is rumored to be projected – In the Evening Mr McLeod with 4 RRS men as left at Fort Daer to take care of the Capt^s Horses – when some free men pillaged the whole from him except one that an Indian took – instigated by the NWC. –

22nd *Monday*. Walsh & family⁵⁸ went from this & Joined the NWC he was a very refractory ill tempered man – he is due RRS 23£ The HBC small Trading House nearly opposite the Canadian House at the forks – rafted down here to erect near the Settlement as it is not thought safe for a few men to remain in it all Summer on account of the Violent Conduct of the Canadians

[Fo. 15]

23rd *Tuesday* – Mr James Sutherland has taken the Oath and fixed as a Councillor for RRS – Men doing little or nothing

24th *Wednesday* – Cap^t McDonell spoke to several of the men whose times expire 1st June next – some seem inclined to remain again after the rate of 30£ p[er]

B.129/e/2, fo. 1; *Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818.* (Montreal, 1819).

⁵⁸ John Walsh, age 22, and his wife Elinor arrived at the settlement in 1812 with the first group of settlers, and it was noted that they came from Sligo, Ireland. They spent the winter at Pembina, but in Spring of 1813, John Walsh deserted to the NWC hoping to go back home. He was engaged by the NWC and sent to Fort William, but once there the NWC sent him back to Red River, and the couple spent the next winter at Fort Daer. They would stay in the RRS until 1815 when they again joined the NWC. John Walsh, his wife Elinor, and their son and daughter, who had been born in the interim, were carried off from Red River by the North West Company in 1815. LAC Selkirk Papers, C-1, Vol. 2, pp. 560-62; Vol. 3, pp. 1004-005; C-2, Vol 5, pp. 1542-46.

annum – or 7£ 10^d till ship time – but some of them who had been fined (some amounting to 5£, & others Less) held out that it should be taken off before they would agree – which was accordingly promised them on that Condition – but none would sign any Contract – a Great Dance at the NW House & all the Remaining Settlers & Servants were invited – several of them went, notwithstanding the repeated orders of Cap^t McDonnell to the Contrary – at midnight many Canadians & Settlers were heard by the Guard coming from the NW House – All of us under Arms in an Instant – but none came near the Settlement – Those Servants remaining at home got some Liquor & danced – Mr McLean talks very strongly of going to Join the NW & go down to Canada

25th *Thursday* at Sun rise this Morning Several of the remaining Settlers, with Hector McDonal[d]⁵⁹ & Gun Pipers at their head, came down in a body & the former threw down a little of our Fence – on which our Men Instantly fired at them, & they immediately returned to the French House & on their way back they found John Scart[h]⁶⁰ collecting some herbs to boil with Pemmican when the former seized by the Neck & made prisoner & took him violently to the Canadian House but Duncan Cameron give him his liberty – Joseph Cathers⁶¹ one of the run aways got a Wall piece ball through his hat & George Campbell⁶² near killed as 2 Musket ball struck the Ground between his legs – Dugald Cameron & Alex^r McDonald NWCo Proprietors with several Clerks at their

⁵⁹ Hector McDonald and his wife came to Red River in 1812 aboard the *Robert Taylor*. He was a servant to the McLeans. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 174.

⁶⁰ John Scarth (*b.ca.* 1763-1833) was a long-time HBC employee from Firth, Orkney. Born about 1763, John Scarth was hired by the HBC in 1789 and worked as a Labourer and Steersman out of Albany Factory. From 1813 to 1816, the time covered here, he was a Steersman out of York and Jack River. In 1815 he was among the Selkirk Settlers who wintered at Jack River. From 1816 to 1818 he was a Fisherman out of Jack River, and 1818 retired to the Red River Settlement. He died and was buried in the Settlement in 1833. He married Nelly Saunderson, the Cree widow of James Saunderson. HBCA BS.

⁶¹ Joseph Cathers was a young boy (15) when he came to the Colony in 1812 aboard the *Robert Taylor* from Ireland. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 174.

⁶² George Campbell, born about 1788 in Sutherlandshire, Scotland, was personally recruited by Lord Selkirk for his colony at Red River. Coming to Churchill Factory in 1813, he, along with a group of colonists, made his way to the settlement in 1814. By the fall of that year, however, he became a traitor to the Selkirk enterprise and became one of Duncan Cameron's agents fanning the discontent of the settlers. On Cameron's request he advised them to abandon Red River and go to Canada where the NWC would give them free grants of land. Campbell, himself, was promised a goodly sum as well. In the early winter of 1814-15, Campbell went to live at the NWC Fort Gibraltar, and from there spread rumours of an impending attack by men in the NWC employ. By April of 1815 he had induced nearly one-third of the settlers to abandon the colony. In early April 1815, Campbell and a few of his settler conspirators, along with Grant, Shaw and Bostonais, broke into the building adjoining Governor Macdonell's house and stole four brass fieldpieces, and four swivel-guns and hauled them to Fort Gibraltar. This brought even more settlers over to the side of the NWC who, along with George Campbell, were transported to Upper Canada that summer. As noted here Campbell was in the forefront of harassing the remaining colonists before he left. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 88, 90, 92, 98; Louis Aubrey Wood, *The Red River Colony: A Chronicle in the Beginning of Manitoba* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company), 71-73.

House – The last of the Wheat sown – men at the Colony do very little in these troublesome time – The Spring very backward –

26 *Friday* Mounted the only two Swivel Guns lately brot here on the old Carriages – Some more of the Men whose times are nearly out asked to engage again – but no decisive answer received from them Jno McLean⁶³ & Donald Livingston⁶⁴ began to set Potatoes & sow a little Barley – before they had been daily expected to Join the NW^o – two

[Fo. 15d]

Men working a little daily at the Horse Mill – the outer walls of it are up but no roof yet put on – The water is very high in the Red River and has not yet began to abate, it is about 10 feet below the bank at the Settlement on the N Side – but into the woods on the opposite side – Water so high that very few fish is caught.

27th *Saturday* Pigwis, the Cut nose Bungee Chief & his band arrived here from their winters hunting Grounds – they have not been here since last fall – a 10 Gallon Keg of Rum was given amongst them – he is very much displeased at the Conduct of the Canadians in debauching away so many Settlers & Servants from the Colony –

28th *Sunday.* Many of the Servants of RRS & HBC^o went their various Military Evolutions during 2 hours – Sunday is a general Day of visiting at the NW House, notwithstanding the contrary orders – In the Evening Mr McKenzie arrived from Portage de Prairie with a Good Trade in Musk rat Skins – James Short and W^m Sinclair who came a few days ago from Brandon House here for some Trading Goods, returned back – They have received it from the RRS Stores as the HBC^o have none remaining of what is wanted

⁶³ This is probably the John McLean who, along with his wife and two children, came to Red River in 1812 from Kilmore, Mull in Scotland. McLean was 28 years of age at the time. He temporarily stayed at Jack River in the summer of 1815 and was resettled at Red River in the fall of 1816. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 97, 172, 177.

⁶⁴ Donald Livingston[e] and family had come to the RRS with Owen Keveny in 1812. He was born in 1791 in Islay, Scotland, and had been recruited as a boat builder. On arrival at York Factory in 1812, he married another emigrant, Ann MacGilveray, who was on the same ship. He remained loyal to Selkirk all through the problems with the NWC and for his troubles was appointed constable of the Colony when Selkirk arrived there in 1817. He moved from the Red River Settlement to Iowa in 1840 and died there in about 1876-78. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 96, 174. Ted Binnema and Gerhard Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta 2012), 323-324.

- 29th *Monday.* Yesterday arrived over Land on Horse back from the Saskatchewan River Mess^{rs} Rowan⁶⁵ & McLean with several half Breed Canadians – the latter is nephew to Mrs McLean here, 10 half Breeds accompanied them, which we suppose is expressly sent for to assist and strengthen the Canadians here, to oppose more effectively the Colony –
- 30th *Tuesday.* Got the first Catfish this day – before we only caught a Katfish Succors & Perch in the Nets in Riviere a la Ceigne⁶⁶
- 31st *Wednesday* – Rain nearly all day – in plowing some of the Land planted with potatoes last Year, several were found quite uninjured by the frost – This day we learnt that Adam Sutherland⁶⁷ one of the deserted Colonists wishes to return back here – he went to the NW House early in April – his brother George⁶⁸ has stood every temptation or threat of Cameron.

[Fo. 16]

June 1815

- 1st *Thursday* – Many of the Irishmen & some of the Scotchmen times expired who came from home in 1812 – Pat Clabley⁶⁹ made a Bon fire on the Occasion – they were all again asked to hire for one year or even till ship time, but none of them gave a satisfactory Answer – A Canadian Packet in an Indian Canoe arrived from Leech Lake, and it was soon given out amongst our people – and a written paper pasted on their Gates that Cameron, McDonald & others had received from the Governor General of Quebec a further confirmation of their Military Commissions – The Voyageur Corps having been disbanded 2 years ago – in which body it is said they had, Commissions – but this manoeuvre we imagine is only to make the deluded Colonists & Servants believe what great men they are, & higher in rank than Cap^t McDonnell – The Barley, Wheat & Buck wheat coming finally up that had shaken down last fall – but not near the

⁶⁵ This is John Rowand (1787-1854) who, at the time, was a senior clerk for the NWC in the Saskatchewan/Fort des Prairies district. He had built Fort Augustus (Edmonton) in 1808, and spent most of his career there. This note indicates that he participated in the fur trade wars in Red River. Rowand, born in Montreal in 1787, joined the NWC in 1803 and spent the rest of his life in the fur trade. He was made partner of the NWC in 1820, and after the merger of companies in 1821, was put in charge of the Saskatchewan District and made Chief Factor in 1826. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.) *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition, 1821 - 1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), 380-82.

⁶⁶ Fidler here likely means the Seine River.

⁶⁷ Adam Sutherland was a Selkirk colonist who arrived at Churchill Factory in 1813. He was 16 years of age at the time. In 1815 retreated to Jack River after the NWC dispersed the Selkirk Colony, but returned in the fall of 1815. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 94, 96 & 97.

⁶⁸ George Sutherland was the 18-year-old brother of Adam Sutherland (above) and also arrived at Churchill Factory in 1813. In 1815 he retreated to Jack River after the NWC dispersed the Selkirk Colony, but returned in the fall of 1815. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 93, 96, & 97.

⁶⁹ This is Pat Clabby, an Irish servant of the Colony who arrived in 1812.

quantity that was shaken off. on account of so many mens Contracts expiring – no the least business was done – tho I should Imagine that according to the Custom of this Country no mans time expires till the Ships arrival latter end Aug^t – when he receives Wages from the expiration of his last Contract till ship time – But the Irishmans Contracts were very incautiously worded in 1812.

2nd *Friday.* The Crops sown some time ago comes up very flourishingly Busily building the HBC small house lately rafted over, at the angle of a Creek where it joins the river about 100 yd above the Settlement – that it may enflade both places in case of an attack from the Canadians – Water beginning to fall a little In the afternoon Mr Seraphim a Canadian Clerk came over with a letter from Mr Alex^r Kennedy another NWC^o Clerk to Mr McLeod⁷⁰ who were neighbours last winter at Turtle river, about some dispute⁷¹ happening between them – a kind of Challenge – Mr McLean was also implicated – and a meeting asked tomorrow to speak on the business – which was agreed to

[Fo. 16d]

3rd *Saturday.* In the afternoon went alone to speak & meet Mr Kennedy some distance from our House – on his arrival there he found the above Person, along with McDonald the Canadian Proprietor, Grant,⁷² Serephin, McLean & other NW people – when they met bad words soon took place between Mr McLean & Kennedy & a battle with fists immediately followed – Kennedy

⁷⁰ John McLeod (1788-1849) was born at Stornoway, Scotland in 1788, and entered the service of the HBC in 1811. He sailed for Red River with Miles Macdonell arriving in Red River in 1812. He was much involved in the fledgling Selkirk Colony and in the period 1812 to 1814 he helped to establish the Pembina Post (Fort Daer) and the post at Turtle River in North Dakota. As noted here, he was back in the Selkirk Settlement in the summer of 1815 and helped to take care of HBC matters there after the colonists had been expelled to Jack River, and he helped re-establish the Selkirk Colony in the fall of 1815. Thereafter he was stationed for the winter at Thieving River, and after the Battle of Seven Oaks was transferred to the English River District and was there arrested by the NWC and sent to Montreal in 1817 to stand trial. His case was dismissed and he returned to Red River in 1818. The next season he was again in the English River District where he stayed until 1821. He married Charlotte Pruden in 1819 and at the merger he was made Chief Trader. Thereafter he served in the Columbia District, Norway House and in Lower Canada. He retired from the HBC in 1848 and died suddenly of Cholera in 1849. Sylvia Van Kirk, “McLeod, John,” *DCB Online*.

⁷¹ The dispute in question occurred in 1814-15, when both Kennedy and McLeod were sent to Turtle River by their respective companies. This was after the Pemmican Proclamation when the NWC had resolved to take a harder line against the Selkirk Colony and the HBC. After Kennedy arrived at Turtle River, he tried to turn the natives against McLeod to no avail. Thereafter, the NWC, and associated Freeman, captured McLeod. Though they let him go, they burnt the Turtle River HBC post at the end of the 1814-15 trading season. H.G. Gunn (ed.), “Diary, etc., of chief trader, John MacLeod, Senior, of Hudson’s Bay Company, Red River settlement, 1811,” *N.Dak., State Hist. Soc., Coll.* (Bismarck), 2 (1908): 115–34; LAC, Selkirk Papers, Diary of Miles Macdonell, 11-14 February 1815 (pp. 16958-16960), 21 May 1815 (p. 17012).

⁷² This is Cuthbert Grant, a Metis clerk of the NWC. He was born at the NWC post Fort Treblant around 1794 to Cuthbert Grant Sr. and Margaret Utinawasis. He joined the NWC in 1810 and by 1812 was a clerk in the Upper Red River department. By 1814 he was enlisted by the NWC to gather together a group of Metis in the northwest to destroy the Selkirk Colony. As “Captain General” of the Metis, he took a prominent role in the destruction of the colony, and was one of the “Chiefs” of the Metis who signed the decree dispersing the Selkirk Colony in June of 1815. In 1816, he led a group of about 60 Metis who killed a group of HBC men and colonists at Frog Plain, leading to the second dispersal of the colony. After the merger of the NWC and HBC in 1821, Cuthbert Grant was hired by the HBC as “warden of the plains”. He thereafter founded the settlement of White Horse Plain/St. François Xavier in the Red River Settlement. He died there in 1854.

having much the worst of it – Grant stepped up & knocked Mr McLean down, and the whole very ill treated him – cutting his face a good deal & a black Eye – he then addressed the Canadian Proprietor & asked his protection from so many – he immediately presented two pistols instead of receiving any satisfactory protection – he then returned home – All our Men are in a very insubordinate state doing very little – in a manner every man his own Master for if the slightest reprimand is given any of them they instantly say they know where to go to – meaning the NW – where Duncan Cameron will receive them with open arms.

4th *Sunday* Rain the fore part of the Day – In the Evening in honour of his Majesties birth day 21 Cannon were fired, in periods of 7 each – & a volley of Musketry between them – Many of the NW Gentlemen rod[e] by the Ditch about 100 yd from the House in Bravado for what happened Yesterday with Mr McLean – Got several Cat fish called Burbot from our Hooks – The water falling fast daily – Very few leaves have yet made their appearance – Indians arrived from Lake Winnipeg say it is fast yet except a little water along the Shore – Several more of the RRS Servants we expect will go over to Cameron – 3 Canadians in a Small Canoe arrived from Riviere Winnipeg with 2 Kegs of rum to carry on their system of debauching our Men –

5th *Monday* About 13 of the RRS Servants went openly to the NW house – a large Canoe came down the river to carry their property away there – several of these Men are still under a Contract – Thos Marten talks of prosecuting the Earl of Selkirk & HBC for not fulfilling his agreement with him: he is a very [Fo. 17] refractory person & greatly in Debt as is also all the others whose Contracts are yet un-expired – when the French Canoe came down for the Mens things – only 10 Men could be mustered to handle a Musket – in the Evening Mr Boyle⁷³ a Carpenter went over to the NW House

6th *Tuesday.* The Canadian Masters offered Mr McLean 600£ in Money – a free passage to Canada & family – a Large Farm given him Gratis well stocked with all necessary Animals if he would abandon the Settlement – The Canadians are

⁷³ Michael Boyle, a Selkirk Settler, went over to the NWC house here but he would later agree to return to the settlement. He along with the other colonists would be driven out and they fled to the north end of Lake Winnipeg where they were met by Colin Robertson who persuaded them to return to Red River. Boyle, however, remained in the Winipeg Settlement (Lake Winnipeg) to build a boat for the new settlers coming from York Factory. When they arrived, Boyle returned to Red River. There he was married to Helen Kennedy by Governor Semple. When the Selkirk Settlers were again forced to leave Red River after the Battle of Seven Oaks, the couple decided to leave for Britain. The ship they were to leave on, however, could not get through the ice and they wintered near Moose Factory. The next year they wintered at Brunswick House, and in 1818 headed east to Meshippicoton and Sault Ste Marie.

again holding out that if the people does not immediately go to the French House that the Indians would scalp them – The NWCo use 7 bags of Pemmican daily to keep all the People they have assembled here on purpose they say of seizing the Prisoner as they call him Cap^t McDonnell & then say they will all desolve [sic] & everyone may pursue his respective duty unmolested – This is the Language always held out – Mr Pritchard traded a horse from a Canadian freeman for 30 skins value.

7th *Wednesday*. Heard this morning that some of the Canadian boats were to go away today, and that they intended to make an attack on us – accordingly every one of us well prepared to receive it – at 2 PM 25 Men & Officers all on horse back armed passed slowly along the road near the ditch downwards to frog plain – & at the same time 5 Batteaux with a flag flying went down the river past us amt^s 42 Men – they offered no insult or violence several Settlers were in these Batteaux & I believe Alex McDonald a little after 2 Letters from the French House was sent down from Duncan Cameron, styling himself Commanding Officer in Red river – one addressed to the Men to intimidate them from resisting but that his only aim was not to hurt any one either in his person or property, but only the person of Cap^t McDonnell & then as soon as his person was secure, Peace should fully reign – The other was addressed to James Sutherland on account of the HBCo intimating to him, that no person or Craft either by Land or Water should leave the Red river, until

[Fo. 17d]

Cap^t McDonnell was in their hands – and that a Camp or Battery would immediately be erected by Mr Alex McDonald, Lieutenant at Frog Plain 5 miles below the Settlement for that purpose, guarded by above 60 Men – we Muster at present 35 officers & Men belonging RRS & HBC besides the half breeds – The Servants sent back an answer to Cameron – but no reply was made to the other Letter – a little after we learnt the Canadians who went by Land had fallen in with the 5 Cattle on the way & had driven before them down to Frog Plain & that they had killed the oldest Bull – a little while after Mess^{rs} McLean McLeod & Duncan McNaughton went down to view the encampment below & ascertain the truth of the Bulls being killed – as well as to bring them back again – when near the French Camp mounted by one of our 3 pounders & 2 Swivels – Duncan McNaughton advanced ahead of the others & came nearer the Camp, when the Canadians & half Breeds set up the war hoop, on which he very inconsiderately fired a pistol too far to have effect; when immediately several shots of Musketry was fired at him & the other two & they were all obliged to gallop back again – after they returned, we sent down Pat Chabley the Head – & he found that they had killed the oldest Bull & sin's it – he claimed the remainder of the Cattle, but on Mr Alex McDonald the commanding officer

there consulting with some of his Companions, he answered that they should be returned if a good stock of Tobacco was sent down to the half Breeds – he immediately returned – afterwards 2 women Mr McLeans Servant & Jno McVicars wife⁷⁴ but returned without them – Several Indians still here & Pegwis – all remaining very quiet not wishing to openly interfere on either side We are now completely Shut up in the river until some other thing happens – The Canadians are determined to have Cap^t McDonnell – alive or Dead –

[Fo. 18]

8th *Thursday* – Michael Boyle who lately went over to the Canadian House – returned and agreed with the Captⁿ for 13£, until ship time – 3 Men assisting Duncan McNaughten in farming – he keeps one Plow & Harrow going – There is a particular agreement between this Man and the Cap^t – for his Labor – which will be very advantageous to the Man –

9th *Friday* – Flin⁷⁵ the Capts Servant sent a Challenge to Duncan Cameron which was not answered – Jno Smith⁷⁶ one of the Settlers found his lately lost Mare in the possession of a Canadian but could not obtain her again – Pat Quin⁷⁷ one of the RRS Servants made Prisoner & carried down to the Frog plain by the Canadians – he was looking for some of our horses – they liberated him in the Evening –

10th *Saturday* – about 1 oclock this Morning a considerable [number] of the NWCo Servants passed near our Ditch sing^g a war song, all of us was immediately under arms as we expected any attack from them, they however passed downwards – at day break they also returned singing the War Song – & bidding us defiance –

⁷⁴ John MacVicar and his wife Katharine Adair, had come to the RRS with Owen Keveny on the *Robert Taylor* in 1812. They were from Bowmore, Island of Islay, Scotland. They arrived at the colony in late summer, and continued to Pembina for the winter. They returned to the settlement in the spring. Loyal to Selkirk, the McVicars were driven out by the Métis and the NWC to the north end of Lake Winnipeg, where they established a camp known as Winipic Settlement in 1815. Colin Robertson, persuaded them to return to Red River, and in 1815-16 they again spent the winter at Pembina. The settlers returned to Red River in the spring of 1816, but were driven from the settlement after the Battle of Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816. They once again went to Jack River House and Winipic Settlement at the north end of the lake. At this time, McVicar entered the employ of the HBC and went to the Athabasca district. John served with the HBC for two years. In 1818 the McVicar family returned to Scotland. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 174.
<http://www.lordselkirk.ca/project/john-mcvicar-19618/>

⁷⁵ This was James Flynn.

⁷⁶ John Smith was from Asbus Parish, Islay. He along with his family sailed on the *Prince of Wales* in 1813. He was described as a labourer, 50 years of age, and was accompanied by his wife Mary and four children. They set ashore at Churchill Fort rather than York Factory and as there was no preparation for them at Churchill, they spent the winter at a makeshift camp known as Colony Creek about 15 miles up the Churchill River. In the summer of 1814, they arrived at Red River. As noted here the settlers were harassed constantly over the winter of 1814-15 by the NWC and, as noted later in this journal, the Smiths left for Upper Canada, transported in the NWC canoes. <http://www.lordselkirk.ca/project/john-smith-18000/>

⁷⁷ Patt Quin was one of the first Selkirk Settlers arriving in August of 1812. He was 21 years of age at the time and came from Killala, Ireland. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 171.

we pursued some of them towards Mr McLeans late House – & there we found the Cattle brot up there & left in the Course of the night – Finished burning the Charcoal – In the afternoon two Canadians in an Indian Canoe arrived at the Forks from point foutre,⁷⁸ with a Printed hand bill of the articles of agreement offered by Britain to the Americans & that Peace would be re-established – directly after their arrival 3 Cannon where [sic] fired at the Canadian House on of Peace – They sent the Bill down here for us to see. also the Canadian Act of Parliament to the Men, & pointing out to them that we all were under the Canadian Jurisdiction – The hand bill in Dugald Camerons hand writing was addressed on the Back “Peace with all the World except in Red River” – we fired 8 Guns on account of the American Peace – Montreal

[Fo. 18d]

News to the 15th Feby – The War encampment at the Frog plain still Continues – Allan McDonald who was this Winter the Canadian Master at Carlton House, arrived a few Days ago, with 2 Batteaux – he had collected at that House a Considerable number of Indians to bring them down here to destroy the Colony, but after they had drank all the Liquor given to them for that purpose, they all to a man refused engaging in such a business – but on the contrary expressed their high wishes for its Prosperity – it seems the NW are putting away every scheme in practice to drive away all the Settlers – Mr Allan told to Mr Pritchard about the death of Mr Johnson⁷⁹ at Isle a la Crosse 14th Feb^y last. – The Canadians are collecting the half breeds from all Quarters – Pegwis & his Party went below, gave every one of them presents of Ammunition & Tobacco – Cap^t McDonell sent a Letter by this Chief to deliver to Mr Colin Robertson⁸⁰ on his way towards this place – Water falling about 5 Inches perpendicular daily – A Little after dusk a number of Canadian half breeds began their War Song near our Ditch & annoyed & insulted us much by it – when James Flinn⁸¹ & Mr McLean & 4 others went to the Ditch, and the former saw a Man laying

⁷⁸ Pointe au Foutre was located at the mouth of the Winnipeg River at Lake Winnipeg. The NWC post at this point was called Pointe au Foutre House and the HBC post later would be called Fort Alexander.

⁷⁹ On 14 February 1815 there was a fatal quarrel between Joseph Howse and his men, who had been sent to Île-à-la-Crosse to re-establish an HBC presence there. The HBC contingent was headed by Mr. Johnson, and the NWC contingent by Samuel Black. During this confrontation, one NWC man was killed, as well as Mr. Johnson and two of his men. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports, 1806-1821*, 240.

⁸⁰ Colin Robertson (1783-1840) was born in Perth, Scotland, and entered the service of the NWC in 1803. In 1809 he left their service and in 1814 entered the service of the HBC with the goal of expanding the HBC presence in the Athabasca. As he passed Jack River in 1815, however, he found the dispersed Selkirk Colonists there and agreed to escort them back and re-establish the Red River Settlement which he did in September of 1815. In March of 1816 he captured the NWC Fort Gibraltar at Red River and arrested Duncan Cameron. In June of 1816, prior to the Battle of Seven Oaks, he left the colony after a dispute with Governor Semple. Thereafter he travelled to York Factory to return to London, but the ship he was travelling on, the *Prince of Wales*, got caught in the ice and he was forced to winter at Moose Factory. In June of 1817, he left Moose Factory for Canada where he would be tried and acquitted for his actions in 1816. He stayed in the HBC until 1840, when he died. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports, 1806-1821*, 480.

⁸¹ James Flynn

there which he called to 4 times without making any Answer, when Flinn fired – then directly a general fire with Musketry in the Dark commenced with those 6 Men & a considerable number of NW people – we dares not fire from the House, for fear of hitting our own Men – after None of them had fired 7 Shots they retreated home when we began a general fire; having no object to point at but the flash of the Enemies gun – our 3 Wall pieces began to be fired from the upper story, when soon after the Canadians all retreated & we heard nothing more of them during the night – none was wounded on our side – We remained under arms all night – Mrs McLean & the rest of the Women went down to the Farm yard house during the action

[Fo. 19]

11th *Sunday* – At 8 AM all the Companys Servants (HBC) were in their Trading House – at the junction of the Creek⁸² & river, lately built. Mr Bourke & Flinn coming from thence toward the Settlement was fired at by Canadians & half Breeds from the Bushes about 20 yd beyond the Creek, but fortunately missed them. – The Canadians then commenced a general & brisk fire from Musketry on the Government Buildings – every one of us was immediately at his allotted place within the building firing with Muskets thro port holes lately made we fired from both stories – the wall pieces in the upper one – about 14 of an hour after the Action began, one of the wall pieces being loaded & unfortunately in loading it the Ball was not driven down within 9 inches of the Powder Mr McLean⁸³ fired it & had the misfortune to have his left hand very much shattered by the bursting of the Gun – Mr Warren⁸⁴ standing near on the other side some part of the fragment of the Barrel penetrated a little behind & above his left ear & made a hole into his skull of near 1¼ inch diameter & immediately fell down as a dead Man – & it was near 1 hour before we discovered signs of Life – part of the brain came our at the hole – Mr White the Surgeon immediately attended both & rendered them every assistance in his power – Mr Warren is not expected to live & Mr McLean I fear will entirely lose the use of

⁸² Logan's Creek

⁸³ This is Alexander McLean/MacLean (c.a. 1780-1816) who was born in Argyll, Scotland, about 1780. He was a gentleman farmer and was specifically recruited by Lord Selkirk. He arrived in the Red River Settlement in 1812 with his wife, children and servant. He had married Christina Browne in Scotland in 1804, and was a principal settler in Red River at this time. In reference to this accident, Governor McDonell noted, "By the wound received by Capt McLean thro this bad accident, the Colony loses the present service of a most resolute gallant officer." Later in 1815, when the colony was re-established, McLean led a foray to arrest Duncan Cameron, Seraphim Lamar and Charles Hess and capture Fort Gibraltar. In 1816, McLean participated in the Battle of Seven Oaks and was killed. Thereafter, his wife and children travelled to York Factory in order to return to Scotland. Their ship, Prince of Wales, however, got caught in the ice and they were forced to winter at Moose Factory. They returned to Scotland in 1817. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 86; Library and Archives of Canada (LAC), Selkirk Papers, Miles McDonell Journal, C-16. Vol. 63, p. 17028; Alexander McDonell, *A Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country; from the commencement of the Operations of the Earl of Selkirk Till the Summer of the Year 1816* (London: B. McMillan, 1819).

⁸⁴ John Warren. See earlier citation.

his hand – a few minutes after Duncan McDonald⁸⁵ received a ball which first grazed his back near the shoulder & then penetrated thro the flesh above making a wound about 4 Inches long – but we hope it will be soon well again – All this while we were all very busy in firing the wall pieces & Muskets, but as we had no object to fire at – only the smoak ascending from the Bushes we had little chance of hitting well – scarcely were the wounds of the above three people dressed when the HBC Servants carried Francis Mongunier⁸⁶ another Servant from the Co House to the RRS house – he having received a Ball in the Leg, which was cut out quite flatted a

[Fo. 19d]

little above the ankle on the forepart of his Leg – This ball had gone quite thru the middle of one of the Logs of the Wall of the House – the firing still continuing – in the whole about half an hour – when it ceased on the part of our Enemies – Three Indians came to us, & asked if any of us were hurt – which we refused telling – They seemed very much dissatisfied at the Canadians firing first at us – They smoked a pipe of Tobacco & returned towards the Canadian House They told us that Bostona⁸⁷ a Half Breed Canadian & Interpreter to the NWCo came down & made them cease firing – They fired about 150 shots at us which penetrated the Logs of the Houses in many Places – the end of the Cap^t Room being in the Direct line and there the fire of the Enemy was most^y directed – the upper floor only had a wall about 4 feet high & the Gable end being only Covered by Elm bark, the Balls came easily thro it – The Canadians fired a whole volley at the Companys House tho all the Company Servants were in it and did not fire a single shot at the Enemy tho they were within at most 50 yards – but in bushes so as not to be seen – before the firing commenced 3 of the enemy endeavoured to cross over the Creek close to the Co^s House along

⁸⁵ Miles McDonell's journal identifies him as Duncan McDonell. He was killed in the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. See reference to Selkirk Papers in note immediately above.

⁸⁶ This is Francois Monjeunier/Monjunier, He was a son of Germain Maugenest and a Native woman. He was born about 1791 in Rupert's Land, and joined the HBC in 1808 at Albany House. He is listed as a servant at Brandon House as early as 1810-11, and in 1815-16 when he was posted to Riviere Qu'Appelle, it was noted that he was "Sober Honest and a good interpreter." From 1816 to 1819 he was an Interpreter at Fort Hibernia and then at Beaver Creek. From 1819 to 1822 he was posted to the Red River district as an Interpreter. In 1823-24 he was listed as a Freeman, and in 1824-25 he was listed as a settler at Red River. In the 1827 Census of the Red River Settlement, he was listed as being 36 years old, a Protestant, and married with three sons and one daughter. He is listed in the Red River Censuses until 1846, and dies there in 1849. HBCA B.3/d/122-125; B. 22/d/1-4; B.63//f/1; B.239/d/165-216a; 239/g/2-4; E.4/2; E.5/1-11. AM Censuses of the Red River Settlement.

⁸⁷ This is Peter "Bostonais" Pangman (1791-1850). Peter or Pierre Pangman was born in 1791 in the Saskatchewan River valley and was the son of the NWC trader Peter Pangman Sr. and a native woman. As noted here, he was an employee of the NWC, but in 1812 had begun his fur trade career in the employ of the HBC under John McLeod. He soon left the HBC and by 1815 was in the employ of the NWC as an interpreter and took a leading role in the dispersal of the Selkirk Colony in 1815. He, along with other Metis "Chiefs" Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw and Bonhomme Montour, signed the document that banished the Selkirk settlers and HBC from the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. Bostonais was also prominent in the 1816 destruction of the Selkirk Colony and was later arrested in 1816, standing trial in Upper Canada. He was not convicted and was released. He died in 1850 at St. François Xavier in the Red River Settlement, the very settlement he tried to destroy.

the long wind fallen trees across it – but they were prevailed on to return by the Cos Servants, who held a conversation with them some time thro the port holes in the House – they being so near and quite exposed Mr McKays men had a fair opportunity of shooting them if inclined – The Enemies shot were about 150 or 160 yd from the RRS Houses – it is supposed that the Canadian party firing was about 20 Men or upwards – This affair has greatly intimidated all our men as the Canadians always say that it is only to have the Prisoner Cap^t McDonnel that the firing at our house is done for & that when they have him all enmity on their part should cease – About 1 hour after the firing Ceased above 40 Canadians on Horse back with several spare horses passed us

[Fo. 20]

towards the Frog plain but at above Gun Shot from our Houses we guess to fetch up the Cannon from their Camp at Frog Plain, plundered from us 3rd April, to make a violent attack on us – The Men after the firing ceased busily employed piling up the Bales of Goods Bags of Pemmican & Bundles of furs within the house opposite where we expect the Attack – our two Swivel Guns put in order up stairs in Mens house – After all the above was fixed to protect us from the Enemies shot 4 feet above the floor – Cap^t McDonnel gave every man a dram & made them a little Speech to encourage them to protect the Property & Premises – they seemed not to deny this but they murmured at protecting his person against the warrant served on him above two Months ago – as the Canadians invariably give out that it is his person only they want & then all hostility on their part would instantly cease. – Mr McLean after dressing his hand went down with all his family to the Farm House to remain – All the Colonists wives are very much alarmed – at 10 oClock this Evening, Mess^{rs} White, Sutherland, McDonald & Self with Pat Cocran,⁸⁸ Duncan McNaughten & Michael Heydon⁸⁹ was called out by the Cap^t McDonnel & taken to the banks edge – he there told us that he had received undoubted information lately & privately from some of the Men that it would be advisable for him to immediately leave the Settlement & endeavor to make his escape in the night & get down to Jack river as soon as possible – & that when the Canadians learnt

⁸⁸ This is Patt Corcoran an Irish settler who arrived in Red River in 1812 from Ireland, He was 24 years of age. He was taken prisoner in 1816 by the NWC at the Qu'Appelle River. He travelled to York, Upper Canada in 1818 and testified at the Selkirk Trials. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 169, 171; *Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818* (Montreal, 1819).

⁸⁹ Michael Heydon (Hayden, Heden) had come to the Selkirk Colony in 1812 aboard the Robert Taylor, and was a blacksmith. He survived the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816 and appeared as a witness in the Selkirk Trials in Canada. There he testified that the Metis had fired first. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 175; John Morgan Grey, *Lord Selkirk of Red River* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1964), 295-300; *Report of the Proceedings Connected with the Disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the North-West Company at the Assizes Held at York in Upper Canada, October 1818* (Montreal, 1819).

he was gone, there would be an end of the War – The Captain anxious for the safety of the Colony thought it would be the most proper step he could take to save it, as he was also informed that if he remained any longer almost every man would desert to the Canadian House –but that they were willing to protect the property they said but not his person against the

[Fo. 20d]

warrant served upon him by the NWCo – The Captain left to manage the Colonial business during his absence Mess^{rs} White, McDonald, Sutherland and Fidler – and at 2 o’Clock in the Morning he & Pat Cocran went away – Flin & Orouk⁹⁰ as well as Cocran being very obnoxious to the Canadians for their behaviour toward them also went away & hid themselves in one of the Settlers Potatoe Cellars – Many Irishmen going away daily to the French fort – it was settled that we should not receive any News from the Cap^t after his departure for 6 Days – in case of discovery when coming to the Settlement –

12th *Monday* – We wrote and sent a Letter to Duncan Cameron, a Copy of which & all the Correspondence with the NWCo are in the Letter Book – Duncan McNaughten having a Mare his own property in his hand leading by the bridle near Mr McLeans House, when several of the Half Breeds employed by the NWCo came & took it from him – & rode her to the French house at the Forks – he came home & acquainted us with the affair & then directly went up to their house to demand her of Mr D. Cameron – when he was made a Prisoner of by him and detained – because he was a Constable & had served warrants on his People and was otherwise very active – soon after Mr McLeans only 4 plow horses were taken away by the half breeds & taken to the French House, which totally puts a stop to his plowing – Pat Flin,⁹¹ Anderson & Highland⁹² deserted to the NWCo in the Night – at 6 o’Clock this Morning it was first discovered by our people that Captⁿ was missing – it was given out that he was gone down to Jack river, as only the before mentioned people knew of his departure – The Cap^t before he went away, said that he would go & conceal himself in the point about 1 Mile below the House – Cameron soon learnt that Cap^t McDonnell was gone – but still thinks we conceal him in the House – Martin Jordan⁹³ went away to the french House, but at last

⁹⁰ This is John O’Rourke who was selected by Miles McDonell to go to Red River in 1811. He wintered at York Factory in 1811-12 and arrived in the Selkirk Colony in 1812. He was from Killala, Mayo, Ireland and was 20 years old at the time. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 169, 171.

⁹¹ Patrick Flynn, an HBC servant.

⁹² Michael Hyland, Sawyer.

⁹³ Martin Jordan, from Killala, Ireland, sailed in 1811 with Miles Macdonell for the Selkirk Colony. He was sixteen years old. He spent the winter on the Hudson’s Bay and arrived in the Red River Settlement in 1812 to prepare the way for incoming settlers. He spent the next two winters at Pembina, establishing Fort Daer and later marrying Mary MacLean

[Fo. 21]

we prevailed upon him to return, as things have such a very bad appearance – he & the 3 Brothers McLeans were promised a free passage home, by YF rather than they should go down to Canada with the Canadian – The same privilege was presented to Pat McNalty & family – In the Afternoon the NWC half Breeds sent a Letter down to the HBC half breeds, saying that if they protected the Companies House, they should be considered the Enemies – in consequence they were all greatly alarmed and the whole went down to the point to live near one mile off – our Letter to Cameron was concerning the conduct of his halfbreeds. he told the bearer he would send an answer soon if it deserved on – & that he was determined to drive away all the Colonists & Hudson Bay people from the river & drive them away before him – exactly the same he told to John McVicar & D^d Livingston & further said that it was the intention of Cap^t McDonnell to drive them all out of the river if he had it in his power but that as he had the Means in his own hand he should make immediate use of it – The Men now remaining seem determined to protect the Property at all hazard –

13th *Tuesday* – At Noon received Camerons Answer to our Letter of Yesterday signed by himself Commanding Officer of the red river – it confirms what he told our Men yesterday by Demanding that we should deliver up the Captain and Bale up all our Goods and Leave the river – Wrote him another Letter on the Subject, to know if he really meant to drive us all always, to which he made no written reply – we pulled down the block house, in very bad condition & piled about the outside of our dwelling House to protect us from the Enemies shot –we also pulled down the end next [to] our House, of the One lately erected by the HBC & the Inner partitions, to prevent the Canadians concealing themselves there & annoying us, as we are too few now to man those places – Mr Warren is now delirious – Yesterday as Mrs McLeans maid Servant had gone away to

[Fo. 21d]

the Canadians House, to go down to Canada, she was left destitute of any assistance – her Husband being wounded & the small family to take care of – I gave my Daughter Sally to assist her in her unhappy state – which she was very

who arrived in 1812. He would move temporarily to Jack River after the attack of 1815, and in 1816 helped Colin Robertson capture Fort Gibraltar. Thereafter, he left Red River with Colin Robertson, just before the Battle of Seven Oaks. He would travel north to Jack River and there he would find employment for one year with the HBC (1816-17). In 1818, he would be tried with Colin Robertson for the capture of Fort Gibraltar, but was acquitted. In that year he returned to Red River and took his family away, and worked for a time with the North West Company. Little is known of Martin thereafter, but in 1831, Mary remarried in the Red River Settlement. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 96-97, 171. HBCA B.239/d/188, fos 9d-10. <http://www.lordselkirk.ca/project/martin-jordan-15709/>

thankful for – The whole Family of Mr McLean all left the Farm House, and went to theirs some distance off[f], as Mr McLean had requested permission of Cameron for it – & assured him nothing should happen him from any person – or be the least molested – Mr White the Surgeon also received a Protection from Cameron saying that he might safely visit Mr McLean to dress his hand, when ever he chose, and that the horse he rode on should not be touched [sic] by any person – The verbal answer made by Cameron to the Bearer of our Letter was that he should assist us no more, but we must abide by the consequences – Catherine Sutherland was forced to leave her house by the Canadians & to go with them to Canada – at 10 PM Pat Cocran returned here quite unexpectedly – he was not to have come for 3 Days more – at Midnight he returned to the Cap^t – This Mans return convinces our Men that they are not far off – this News soon got to the NW House – as many of our men cannot be trusted to. – Yesterday Evening a Canadian Canoe full of Men went down to the Fishing Creek where our Fishermen were, and enquired very particularly where Cap^t McDonnell was – they

14th soon returned – Put more wood about our Houses – at 11AM a Batteau from the Canadian House went down the River full of Settlers – – Mr Alex McDonald with the Battery of Cannon at Frog plain still there, this men are generally half Breeds – 5 Tents of Native Freeman are there & are very much vexed that the NW should drive us away, but they durst do nothing on our side they being so very few – at 5 PM on Wednesday Cap^t McDonnell & Cocran returned to remain at the House in open day, he called in Mr McLean & unluckily met there Lauglan McLean one of the NW Clerks – his arrival at the French House was soon known –

[Fo. 22]

Cap^t McDonnells return we consider very unlucky, as Cameron would at last perhaps have allowed us to remain – when he thought he was intirely [sic] gone away – but his appearance will very much damp the Spirits of the Men, who seemed determined to defend the Premises & Property – In the Morning divided the Men into 4 Divisions 38 including all the officers – & the half to be in each house – Hector McEachrans wife⁹⁴ came down by Land to embark in the Canadian Batteaux – she said it was the Intention of the Canadians to exterminate us – The half breeds carried away the last of our horses – In the Morning sent Jack Ram⁹⁵ one of our half Breeds to speak to the French ones,

⁹⁴ Hector McEachern and wife came to RRS in 1812 aboard the Robert Taylor. Lucille H. Campey, *The Silver Chief: Lord Selkirk and the Scottish Pioneers of Belfast, Baldoon and Red River* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 174.

⁹⁵ Jack Ram Kipling was the native-born son of John Kipling (b.c 1743-1794) from Bishopton Durham, England He joined the HBC in 1766 and worked on the Albany River district (Henley House, Gloucester House) for most of his career. He

they told him they was very willing to make peace on their part as the Cap^t was gone away and for the apprehension if they were employed – but his appearance amongst us will frustrate all our pleasing hopes just before the Cap^t returned – This would have been amicably settled the small remains of the Colony, but his appearance will make them desperate – to have him – all the Canadian half breeds paid ours a visit at the Boat to remain in peace with each other – Before Cap^t McDonnell had been here one hour we received a Letter from D Cameron & the other proprietors to immediately deliver up the Captain; styled by them the Prisoner into the hands of the Law – affairs began to wear a most melancholy face – Cap^t McDonnell during the time of his absence being almost eaten up by the Muskettoes – & thinking the Men would support him caused his return – & that his presence would encourage them – which was quite the Contrary – no business done then several Days on the Farms – all the Horses stolen in open day – and told from the Canadian people that any of us seen at work in their fields would be shot, which intimidated every person from doing any thing –

[Fo. 22d]

15th *Thursday* – Sent up a Note to Cameron, informing him that by Noon we would send up an answer to his Letter of yesterday – At Noon a Light Canoe arrived here from Montreal with Mr Alexander McKenzie⁹⁶ an agent of the NWCo and Mr Simon Fraser⁹⁷ a proprietor – They left Montreal 8th May – Soon after the arrival of the Canoe we sent up the promised Letter to Cameron wishing things to remain as they were, till the arrival of Mr John McDonald⁹⁸ from Swan river

died in 1794 and was buried at Albany Factory. His son Jack Ram Kipling was born about 1788 and by the 1800s was employed by the HBC as a labourer and steersman out of Albany. By 1806 he was at Brandon House where he was based until about 1811 when he was posted to Pembina Post. He married Margaret Okanens before 1810. He was a steersman at Pembina in 1814-15 and an interpreter at Turtle River in 1815-16. He was at the Forks of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers in 1817-19. He left the employ of the HBC in 1821 and was killed in a fight in 1836 at Fort Union. HBCA *BS*.

⁹⁶ Alexander McKenzie (*b.c.* 1767-1830) was born in Scotland, and was the nephew of Alexander MacKenzie, the explorer. He became a fur trader around Detroit in 1790, and in 1798 joined the XY Company as a wintering partner. When the XY Company merged with the NWC in 1804, he became a partner in this firm. From 1804 to 1808, he oversaw the Athabasca department and by 1812 was an agent for the NWC at Fort William. In 1815, he was sent to Red River to ensure the destruction of the Selkirk Colony and helped to arrest Miles McDonell and send him east. For this reason, he was arrested by Lord Selkirk at Fort William in 1816, and he stood trial in Canada in 1818. He was acquitted and remained an agent of the NWC, but became inactive as a fur trader. He died in Montreal in 1830. George Woodcock, “McKenzie, Alexander,” *DCB Online*.

⁹⁷ Simon Fraser (1776-1862) was born in New York in 1776 and came to Canada with his mother. He joined the NWC in 1792 and was employed in the Athabasca until 1805. In 1801 he became a partner of the NWC, and in 1805 was put in charge of the Company's operations west of the Rocky Mountains. In 1808, he explored what would be named the Fraser River. In 1816, he took charge of the Red River department, and in 1817 was arrested by Lord Selkirk for the murders at the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. He retired from the fur trade in 1820, and settled in Upper Canada. He died in 1862. W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 445-46.

⁹⁸ John McDonald (1770-1828) was born in Scotland and immigrated with his family to Canada in 1786. By 1798 he had become a wintering partner of the XY Company and by 1802 was stationed in the Red River region. He became a wintering partner of the NWC in 1804, after its merger with the XYC, and, was in charge of the Fort Dauphin department from

– a few hours after Mr Cameron sent a Note down to Mr James Sutherland saying he would meet him alone half way between the Houses – Mr Sutherland & White went away at the appointed time & met Duncan & Dugald Cameron, but nothing satisfactory could be determined., They are however determined to have Cap^t McDonnell & then they told our Gentlemen that there was no doubt but that an amicable termination would immediately follow – John McIntyre & Catherine Sutherland⁹⁹ intended to be married at the Government House – they staying in a small house, about ½ mile off, the first house built one man was sent down for them to come up after dusk – he not returning after some time another was sent for the same purpose which did not return Then another & not returning Mr Arch^d McDonald himself went down to the House where Mr Warren & Mrs Stewart family remained he found that all the Messengers & several others who had gone there to see Mr Warren were made prisoners by many of the NW people & Clerks – they also rushed on him he drew his Sword & kept them off & made the best of his way back in the Scuffle he lost one of his Pistols – when they could not lay hold of him they fired one shot – he got safely up and alarmed us all – I was immediately under Arms all night in the Houses – The Canadians had got possession of both those houses below – A Batteaux (Canadian) returned from the river Winnipeg Mr Shaw & Herron¹⁰⁰ a late Co Servant were the principals in this business – They told Mr McDonald that by quietly giving

[Fo. 23]

himself up no harm should happen to him – Mr McDonald saw several of our people in their possession prisoners –

16th *Friday.* During the Night Mr Alex^r McDonald, many officers and Men had pulled down a Considerable part of our Fence and made a Battery & entrenchment before the Houses where Mr Warren was & mounted with

1808 to 1810. Thereafter, he managed the Swan River department. In 1816, he was arrested by Lord Selkirk for the events that transpired at Red River in 1815 and 1816. He stood trial in Upper Canada in 1818, but was acquitted. With the merger of the NWC and HBC in 1821, he was made a Chief Factor in the new firm. His health forced his retirement to Canada where he died in 1818. Jennifer S.H. Brown, “McDonald, John,” *DCB Online*.

⁹⁹ Catherine or Katherine (Kitty) Sutherland (*b.c.* 1794) came to the North America with her two brothers on the *Prince of Wales* in 1813. Forced to winter at Churchill Factory they trekked to the RRS in 1814. John McIntyre, born in 1793 in Scotland, came on the same boat, and formed a liaison with Catherine at Churchill. Soon after their arrival at the settlement, John signed on with the HBC and was sent to Brandon House, leaving the pregnant Kitty at the settlement. Their child was born in March 1815 but lived only two weeks. John McIntyre returned to Red River in June, and he and Kitty were married. They, along with the remaining settlers were forced to flee to the north end of Lake Winnipeg, where they established a camp known as Winipic Settlement near Jack River House (Norway House). They returned to the colony under the leadership of Colin Robertson. In the fall, another group of settlers arrived from Scotland. This group included Kitty’s and Alexander’s parents (William and Isabella Sutherland) and younger siblings. The settlement was again destroyed in June 1816 and the settlers spent the winter at Jack River, returning to Red River the following summer. John and Kitty farmed in the settlement for more than twenty years and had nine children. In 1837, the family moved to Illinois. Kitty died in 1866, age 74. John died in 1871, age 81. They were buried in Lost Mound Cemetery in Jo Daviess County, Illinois.

¹⁰⁰ This is James Herron who appears in the NWC account book of 1815.

Cannon – 13 pounder & 2 swivels & at sunrise we was surprised to see their great work in the Night and the Canadian Flag hoisted on the rampart – their Goods formerly ours pointed against the Government House – a 5 Gallon Keg of rum was opened there for any of our people to drink – what with feat & the love of rum at 8 oClock this Morning 13 of our people were in possession of the Canadians at the Battery but fear I believe were the sole cause of the most of them going there as the Canadians held out such a very violent language of utterly exterminating us all – Soon after Cap^t McDonnell sent a Letter to Mr Alex^r McKenzie telling him that he wished a meeting ½ way between the Houses alone, on honorable terms in order to put a stop to the present disputes – but received no answer – Shortly after the Canadian Constable & 3 Men came down with a note for the Captains person – to deliver himself up without resistance – which he meant to comply with, but that they must force open the Doors to get at him – finding that he would not voluntarily surrender himself into the hands they returned – Dugald Cameron on Horseback waited at the Fence while the Constable was here – Mess^{rs} White & Sutherland again went to negotiate but nothing done Cap^t McDonnell in the Evening met Mr McKenzie by appointment & agreed to surrender himself up, & that Peace should follow – it was the unanimous opinion of the Council & several other officers & men that he should deliver himself up as the only probable means of saving the remnant of the Colony – after talking some time the Cap^t returned & they agreed he should go tomorrow

[Fo. 23d]

and surrender himself up at the French House – but that Bail should be taken for his being returning back & remaining here till 6 oClock on Monday night – In the Evening the Enemy took possession of the McNaltys old House – and the Farm house, & drove away John McVicar & family who occupied it – they also carried away from it many tools of various descriptions – The Canadian Horses are now all turned by them into our Corn fields & eating it up and trampling it down – they are studying to do all the Mischief they can – The Wheat & Barley is now several Inches above the ground

17th *Saturday* – In the Morning Mess^{rs} White & Sutherland went to the Canadian House again to negotiate, but were told by the Canadian Proprietors, that no arrangement whatever would be entered into till they had Cap^t McDonnell in their possession – he soon after walked up & met Mr Alex^r McKenzie half way & surrendered himself & they both went to the French House Together – us four of the Council went up soon after & signed the Bail for the Capts freedom till Monday Night which was accepted by the Proprietors but the half Breeds & run away Irishmen refused it & told the Proprietors that he should not be allowed to return to our House again – which demand they were obliged

seemingly to comply with – McKenzie & McDonald rode directly to the Camp to get the Bail fulfilled but they said their men would not in the least listen to what was told them – for that they said should the Cap^t once get his liberty again they would never get him again – In consequence of this the Proprietors say that the Cap^t shall be allowed 2 or 3 Days more than formerly mentioned to settle his affairs on account of the distance from his House to get his papers &c Directly after the Cap^t was secure & no bail would be admitted their Camp broke up & all the Cannon – Trenching Tools & with Ammunitions & arms Carriges & were brot into the French yard, and we now consider the Wars as at an End – Mr Michael McDonald¹⁰¹ &

[Fo. 24]

Duncan McNaughten still prisoners – but allowed to walk about the House and Yard – a Centinal with fixed Bayonet stay at their Gates Night & Day – The Settlers that were driven from their Houses & carried prisoners down to the Frog plain came up to the Canadian House as the Camp is also broke up there – & say that all their property left in their Houses have been plundered away by the NWC^o Servants – they say Lauglan McLean a Canadian Clerk was at their head – Potatoes & all – Peace seems now certain – we wish to plow more Land for Potatoes & Buck wheat but all the Horses are in possession of the NWCo people – In the evening Duncan McNaughten & Michael McDonald asked & obtained from Duncan Cameron leave of absence on their Word of honour to return back tomorrow night – to visit some of their Friends at the Colony.

18th *Sunday* – We requested Mr Sutherland & party to remain a few days more till matters are finally settled – as we have expectations will then be done in an amicable manner – some of us are writing the Captⁿ daily.

19th *Monday* All four of us of the Council went up to the Canadian House to make a final arrangement for the restoration of Peace and all Property taken away belonging to the RRS, HBC and Settlers – we met after some delay the 3 proprietors and several Clerks & 2 or 3 half Breed Interpreters in the bed room but we could not enter into the arrangement proposed – by Servants having any thing in their possession it should be delivered up – but that on a strict inquiry they had made they told us that had nothing – but that the half Breeds had the whole & to whom they refered us to obtain redress – The Grant, Shaw

¹⁰¹ No Michael McDonald has been found, but according to Jack Bumsted, there was a Michael Macdonell who had been recruited by Selkirk in 1811, and who had come to Red River with the advance party of Settlers. As well, there are reports that in 1814, after Miles McDonell's Pemmican Proclamation, a Michael Macdonnell (McDonell), with John Warren, had confiscated pemmican from a freeman camp near Turtle River. One source identifies him as a clerk of the HBC in 1814. J.M. Bumsted (ed), *The Collected Writings of Lord Selkirk, 1820 – 1820, Vol. II* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society, 1988), 202; Charles N. Bell, *The Selkirk Settlement* (Winnipeg, 1887), 11; A. Amos, *Report of Trials in the Courts of Canada relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement* (London, 1920), 277.

Bonhomme¹⁰² Bostana & Hoole¹⁰³ ½ Breeds but all clerks & Interpreters to the NWCo told us by the directions they had previously received, that they had come to

[Fo. 24d]

the resolution of not allowing a single Colonist, or servant of the HBC to remain – This disclosure confirms what Duncan Cameron told Pat MacNalty some time ago, that not a Colonist should remain – nor even the appearance of one ever being here – as he would not leave one log upon another – Shaw, son of Angus Shaw¹⁰⁴ late one of the NWC Agents told us that they would allow us one Month to withdraw all the Property & servants from Brandon House & would be accountable for their safety till that time expired but not longer – Then half Breeds all held up by the NWCo, Cameron & McDonald particularly distinguished themselves in supporting them Fraser said very little & McKenzie the Agent did not make his appearance amongst us – They required a preemptory answer from us before we left the room either yes or no to their Proposals of all leaving this river – at last we got permission to send in our answer tomorrow – we returned & consulted with all and was of opinion that could we by any means turn the half Breeds from the Canadian Interest we might be able to remain – we sent some of our half breeds to require an explanation with the NW ones – Old Peltier & Bellgarde promised they would come and see us on that Business tomorrow – we also sent a Letter to Mr McKenzie – Jno McVicar & D. Livingston we hear have spoken to Cameron to carry them to Canada.

20th Tuesday – Old Peltier & Bellgarde came here, They positively insist that the Colony must entirely be destroyed & no trace left & that the HBC may be allowed to carry on their Trade by distributing annually amongst the Freeman & the half Breeds 20 pieces of various Goods – These 2 Men brot us a Letter

¹⁰² This is Robert “Bonhomme” Montour (1787-1857). He was born in 1787 at Red River to the fur trader Nicholas Montour and an Indian woman. By 1808 he had entered the fur trade as an employee of the NWC at Pembina, and by this time was still in their employ. He along with other Metis employees of the NWC (Cuthbert Grant, Bostonais Pangman, and William Shaw) were instrumental in dispersing and destroying the Selkirk Colony in 1815 and 1816, and all four signed a decree in June of 1815 ordering the dispersal of all traces of colonization at Red River. In 1818 he married Josette Spence around 1818 and the family lived in the Red River Settlement and at Pembina. He died in Pembina in 1857.

¹⁰³ This is Antoine Hoole (Houle) born around 1781 in Rupert’s Land and died in the Red River Settlement in 1867. Hoole, a Metis, was employed by the NWC as an interpreter and commanded a brigade of Metis in the struggle against the Selkirk Colony. He was designated a “captain” by Cuthbert Grant during these struggles and participated in the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. He retired to White Horse Plains/St. François Xavier in the Red River Settlement where he died in 1867.

¹⁰⁴ Angus Shaw (died 1832) was born in Scotland and entered the service of the NWC as a clerk about 1787. He played an important role in establishing the NWC posts on the North Saskatchewan River and became a partner in the NWC in 1792, but gave up his shares in 1808 becoming then an Agent of the NWC. Between 1802 and 1814 his activities were centered mostly around the Great Lakes but by 1814 was again prominent on the plains and took a leading role in the dispersal of the Selkirk Colony in 1815. He was arrested by the HBC in 1819 but was released. After the union of the two companies in 1821, he continued as a Montreal Agent of the HBC until his firm (McTavish, McGillivrays, and Co.) failed in 1825. He died in 1832 in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Gratien Allaire, “Shaw, Angus.” *DCB Online*.

from the half breeds requesting a meeting with them half way between the Houses at 12 O'Clock – Sent away Pisk¹⁰⁵ & Jack Kipling¹⁰⁶ to entrance of the river to fetch up Pigwis the Bungee Chief & Young Men, to see what they can do for us in making Peace & remaining here – We did not meet

[Fo. 25]

the half Breed at the time they appointed – at dusk in the evening most part of the half Breeds (35) came to our fence & sent a Man desiring to speak to Mr Sutherland alone – after some explanation it was understood by both parties & stipulated that both the HBC Servants & Colonists might safely remain, if we would forgive them all the past mischief they had inflicted on the Colony, and they requested Mr Sutherland to inform us & that we should all meet them tomorrow morning at 7 o'clock halfway between the Houses to arrange finally the existing disturbances – John Smith & family settled with the NWCo to go down to Canada as he did not wish to return home and was afraid to remain longer here – as the Canadians prevents him working his Land – Angus McDonald late one of the HBC Servants but a Canadian had one of the Late Settlers Houses given to him & his Land by Cap^t McDonnell & after planting many bushels of Potatoes & sowing some Barley repeatedly received orders from Cameron to leave it or he would burn him in his House – & at last he was turned out of it by some of the Canadians – Pat Quin & J. Hyland two Irishmen returned back to us.

21st *Wednesday.* At 8 AM we met the half Breeds between the Houses but the first demand they made was that not a Colonist should remain – This is all from Cameron – as last night they seemed willing to make peace – they also insisted that we should all go away tomorrow but at last they allowed us 2 Days. Shaw was the principal speaker – we each returned home – at 3 PM Cap^t McDonnell embarked in 1 Canoe with Mr McKenzie & Fraser & Flinn the Capt's Servant – In the other Canoe was Duncan Cameron – Herron one of our run away Clerks from Swan river – & McLean a NW Clerk – with 9 Men in each – Dugald Cameron went away 3 Days ago to Winnipeg river – Cap^t McDonnell a little before

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Pisk/Peask Kipling was born around 1792, at Albany House. He worked inland from Albany House and was at Brandon House by 1808 where he worked until 1812. From 1813 to 1815, he was a Labourer at the HBC post at Portage La Prairie, and in 1815-16 was stationed in the Manitoba District where he stayed until 1817 as a Runner and Interpreter. In 1817-18, he was temporarily in charge of Brandon House. In 1818-19, he was and Interpreter at the Forks, and from 1819 to 1822 he was an Interpreter at Isle a la Crosse. In 1822-23, he was again in the Lower Red River District where he stayed as a Steersman until 1825. In 1825 he left the HBC to settle at Red River. He rejoined the HBC in 1828 and shows up in the Columbia Department where he worked for the HBC until 1860. He was appointed to be in charge of Cape Disappointment in the Oregon from 1852-55, and thereafter was paid as a Labourer. He lived with his family (he had married Marguerite Plouffe Villebrun) at Cape Disappointment and took a 640 acre claim adjoining Peter Skene Ogden in 1846. HBCA BS; B.22/d/1-5; B.63/f/1; B.239/d/165-216a; B.239/g/1-32.

¹⁰⁶ See earlier note for Jack Ram (Kipling)

[Fo. 25d]

he embarked from the French House, drew up a paper appointing Peter Fidler, Arch^d McDonald & James White to transport & do all the Business relating to the Colony until his return or until the Pleasure of the Earl of Selkirk was known – he also left one Letter for Mr T. Thomas Governor of the Northern Department & one to the Earl of Selkirk – he went away seemingly in good spirits – Alexander McDonald & many Clerks, men & settlers still remain at the NW House – the above in the afternoon sent word for all the Free men to come up from the Frog plain – and in the Evening a Large Keg of rum was given amongst all hands – some of the Freemen told us that McDonald made a speech to them requesting their future support in driving us away – Tyed up some Goods & making an appearance of Going away soon – tho we wish to remain if possible

22nd *Thursday* – Yesterday Mr An^d McDonald married John McIntyre and Catherine Sutherland¹⁰⁷ – who was delivered of a Bastard child a Girl by him this winter & soon afterward died – at 2 ¼ AM a very heavy fire of Musketry commenced against the Colony Houses at about 100 yds distance under the edge of the Bank – which lasted 25 Minutes, we not firing a shot as they were concealed under the edge of the Bank of the river – this alarmed all our people so very much that they demanded that those who would not join the Canadians should be immediately furnished with Boats to convey themselves to Jack river – in consequence we got all our Boats into the water to tighten, as none would remain here in the Summer of the Colonists – The Cuthillin 26 Tons Measurement we with great difficulty got afloat, & the Carpenters putting her a Little in order so as to be able to Cross Lake Winnipeg – Tyed up Goods to go away as soon as we can as none will stay of the Settlers – Most of the Settler Houses were set fire

[Fo. 26]

to by the half breeds Employed & maintained by the NWCo – and burnt to the Ground – Mr Smiths family & all the Irishmen except 5 Embarked in the NW Batteaux for river Winnipeg – Nine men of the half Breeds burning the Houses & Bostona head of them – Jno McVicar saw them setting fire to them when he went down to Jno Smiths House – Several Settlers also went away for Canada – The half breeds on their return home from setting fire to some of the Settlers houses below called at Mr McLeans & entered it & told him, that he must leaver his House tomorrow or they would burn him in it – we sent for all his property in the Evening – to our Large Houses – we also removed all the moveable property we could from the Farm yard, as we expect they will soon set it & the

¹⁰⁷ See note for the entry of 15 June 1815.

other buildings there on fire – Some part of the Crops where it was not eat or trampled by the Canadian Horses, was 7 Inches high 11 Days after it was sown – The wheat had 90 Branches after being above ground 8 Days –

23rd Friday. Jno McVicar, D. Livingsten & Pat McNalty will go away with the Canadians if we will not furnish them with a Boat to carry them down to Jack river – everyone is pretty alarmed at the Mischief done daily by the Canadians – Pisk & Jack ret^d from Pegwis Tent, he expects him & all his young men here tomorrow Mr McLean & family came over to live in the Chateau here – More of the Settlers houses burnt by the Canadian half breeds We sent a Letter to Alex McDonald, he only made a verbal reply that he could not protect us from the half Breeds, busily Packing up as none will remain on account of the Colony as whoever remains on that account is threatened with being shot – Our Men were near carrying away the Boats by force to get away from this – so that before they should do this we told them that when all should be packed we would go together which would be about Tuesday next – this after very mature deliberation we judged the most prudent step as by this means we could, be away safely with Lives & Property under the NWCo Protection they had firmly promised us in their Letters. – Bly [sic] our

[Fo. 26d]

all going away without doing anything bad – by remaining some time about the half Breeds would have time to reflect on the Injury they had done themselves by driving us away & thereby depriving themselves of employment to many of them. – we sent a Letter on the subject of Leaving this next Tuesday to Alex McDonald – by the express wish of almost every person – at 11 PM we learnt that the Canadians intended to attack us early in the Morning – we are all prepared – all the few remaining Settlers with their women & children came into the Government Buildings – for protection. –

24th *Saturday* – at 10 AM several of the Half breeds employed by the NWCo set fire to Mr McLeans Dwelling House & out houses, which was burnt down in two hours time, Bostona, Bonhomme & Bono's son very conspicuous in it – a little after Peguis & the Yellow Legs¹⁰⁸ the Lac de Bonnet Bungee Chief with 33 men all armed arrived by Land, having come near ½ way up the river in Canoes – Bostona met them, the Canadian Interpreter near Mr McLeans House & spoke to them before they came to us – Hoisted the Colours on their arrival – They came 2 & 2 abreast in a Nice manner the 2 Chiefs at their head – Gave every man a dram & a f^m Tobacco for the Chiefs to divide amongst them – when all seated round, we made them the following Speech –

¹⁰⁸ Little is known of Yellow Legs, the Bungee Chief from Lac du Bonnet.

“We are in great mourning and we have sent for you to tell You of our Griefs – Your Friend our Chief when he was taken from us, told us that if we wanted protection, to send for you – he told us to tell you that we were sent here to do hood to Indians, to feed them and cloth them, and not to make war upon them – our Great Father told us never to redden the Lands with the Blood of his Children, and in order that we may live in Peace you Friend gave himself up to the Canadians – but it seems now that nothing but our Blood can satisfy our Enemies – They have told us that we must Leave these Lands never to return – They have taken our Horses from us, and destroyed some of our Cattle – you see the smoak arising from our Burnt houses – They have killed one of our Brothers wounded another, & deprived one of his hand and one of his Leg – They hide themselves in the Bushes every day and continually fire at us – We could return that fire if your Friend had not told us to be careful of the Blood

[Fo. 27]

of our Fathers Children – you see us with sorrowful Hearts tying up our Goods in order to leave these Lands – but we could not leave them, because we consider those who are driving us from your Lands as having no right to do so – half of them was not Born upon these Lands, and the greater part of them are the Sons of Slave Women – We know these Lands are yours, if you tell us to leave them we are ready to do so, but if you tell us to remain here, we will not leave these Lands, but you must make peace for us with these people – We think that they want to spoil your Lands, and then to return to their Lands from whence they come – we have repeatedly asked them to come and Smoak the pipe of Peace with us but their answer always is, that we must go away, or they will take our property, and Burn our Houses over our heads – We do not send for you to make war upon these People, we only want you to make Peace for us – If you want a little Tobacco for that purpose we will give it to you (7 PM) – Your Friend our Chief has taken you Pipe stems with him, in order that he may talk to our Great Father, that he may be charitable to you and your Friends – and we expect that when you see your Pipe stems again, you will be praised for having been the Friend to his Children in his Absence – We are full of Griefs – we love these Lands, we hope

you will protect us out down the river, and we hope soon to come back again with a Letter to you from the Great Father of us all – we have lost our Chief, but he would not have gone, had he not left you behind to protect us – To these Young Men who accompany you, you will distribute Tobacco to smook during the Summer, and ammunition to make their Families live – It is not our Custom to talk bad of any body – You know our Enemies, and have known them from your Childhood – You will know they Could never bear two fires upon their Lands, for what reason we know not, it may be for the love of you to use you better when they are all by themselves, but you are the best judges if it is so – You have seen them here by themselves, and also when they have had neighbours – If our Chief was here he would tell you many things, but our

[Fo. 27d]

Hearts are too much swelled with Grief, to speak of anything but our present straits – were you foolish young men, we would make you drunk, and bribe you with Liquor, to make Peace for us, but we know you are too sensible and too Courageous Men to require Liquor to make you speak your minds to your Enemies, still we got wherewith to make you and your young men rejoice when the Peace is made, and when we can remain in safety upon your Lands – Last night our wounded Brother was driven from his house: you now see it is in ashes – we have another dying Brother, that they desire us to remove or they will burn him in the House – this is very hard – They treat us more cruelly than the Sioux would do, they will not even let us die in peace – we do not wish that the Indians should make war upon one another on our accounts.”

After this speech was concluded Pegwis stood up and made the following in reply –

“We thank you for your speech; What is the matter with these People? You do not Trade skins from us, why then are they always quarreling with you? They always had Greedy hearts & Jealous Minds, and always drove away those who brought us our necessaries – when your Messenger came to our Tents, he found my Brother Chief and our young men assembled in order to come to your assistance as we had been told that the Canadians had carried off our

Brother – We will offer these People the Pipe of Peace, and if they will not smook with you, we will not restrain our young men more, but shall join them in the Cry of War – What do these people mean by driving you from these Lands? Had we no other support than what they give us, we might freeze in our Tents, Die of want and be at the mercy of our Enemies – Look round and you will see our young men defended from the Inclemency of the weather and torment of the Musketoos by your means, and we have even a pipe of Tobacco to smook and a round of ammunition to support our families – nor have we forgotten how pitiful and poor we were before your arrival here – It seems our Great Father has two Children, and perhaps he loves one better than the other – he certainly did not tell one Brother to make war on the other – for my part I have always loved the white people, and have always taught my young me to be kind to them – The people of the other House are always breaking my Ears with complaints and telling stories about my Lands; but these are not my Lands – they belong to our Great Father – for it is he only that gives us the means of existence, for what would become of us if left

[Fo. 28]

us to ourselves – we should wither like the Grass in the Plains, was the Sun to withdraw his animating beams – the hearts of my young men are vexed and inclined to war, it is with difficulty we can restrain them – I hope to procure you Peace, but if my Lands must be reddened with your blood – my Blood & that of my children shall mix with yours and like a Stone we will sink together”

They then went to the French House with Tobacco to endeavour on the Canadians to make peace with us – half remained at our house in case the Enemy offered us any violence – after 4 hours absence they returned and made us the following speech.

“My Children my heart is Grieved – I return with shame – Those people have no Ears to listen to the words of Peace – They say you must leave these Lands – they are very strong –They have big Guns, and their fort is full of Men – we are too few to contend with them at present; never mind, go you to Jack river and collect a force, and we will send word to the Chiefs of the red Lake and elsewhere – had they known of this business they would have been here before this,

for they do not love you less than us – Take courage; Muster strong – and make haste to come back, for as soon as the Young Ducks flies – you will find all your Friends assembled at the bottom of the River to conduct you to your Gardens – when you embark, myself and young Men, will sit down in your Boats, for I fear these peoples hearts are bad and perhaps they would pillage you” –

A little after he went into Mrs McLeans house & made the following speech to Mrs McLean –

“My Sister, I am glad to find you have sense – You did right not to listen to the people of the other House – I know them well – They have sugared Mouth and a deceitful tongue – Soon as they have got your friends out of the river, they will drop them like Stones as they go along “

As no peace seemingly can be made we shall detain the Indians to accompany us down in the Boats – They all slept in our House – They are all much hurt at the thought of our going to leave them – before the Inds arrived, Francis Dechamps,¹⁰⁹ Burrasa¹¹⁰ & Cottena¹¹¹ three half Breeds paid us a visit – & the two Latter particularly insisted that we should all go away – the middle name is the most violent & brot over from the Saskatchewan lately –

[Fo. 28d]

25th *Sunday*. Pegwis went to the French House this Morning & brot over the proposals at page 61 – a letter after Mess^{rs} Sutherland & White met the half Breeds half way between the Houses with our Proposals as at page 62 – Some

¹⁰⁹ François Deschamps (Dechamp), an old Canadian, was a well-known NWC “bully” during the Selkirk difficulties described here. According to his report of 1816, James Bird noted that Dechamp was the one who “blew out the brains” of Robert Semple during the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. The Deschamps family later moved to the American territories near Fort Union where they were known as a particularly violent family. The whole family was murdered in 1835-36. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports, 1806-1821*, 432-33.

¹¹⁰ This is Michel Bourassa, a Metis who was listed as a steersman and hunter for the NWC in the Red River district in the 1804-05 outfit. Around 1805, he married (by custom of the country) Marguerite Beaulieu. As noted here, he was in the Saskatchewan River area when he was called to Red River to help the NWC disperse the Selkirk Colony in 1815-16. NWC records confirm that from 1811 to 1821, Bourassa was a hunter in the Fort des Prairies district. After 1821, he was employed by the HBC at various posts as a hunter, guide and tripman until at least 1829. He was a prominent member of the NWC/Metis group that participated in the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816. See Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Hudson's Bay Company Edmonton House Journals: Reports from the Saskatchewan District Including the Bow River Expedition, 1821 - 1826* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2016), 335; Harry W. Duckworth (ed.), *Friends, Foes, and Furs: George Nelson's Lake Winnipeg Journals, 1804 - 1822* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 379.

¹¹¹ Cottena or Cotonohaye was a Metis, and employee of the NWC, who participated in the Battle of Seven Oaks. According to the affidavit of Alexander Sutherland, Cotonohaye, a son of the Canadian freeman Bellegarde, was seen after the battle with Semple's pistols, sword, double-barreled gun, and white neck-handkerchief. A. Amos, *Report of Trials in the Courts of Canada relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement* (London, 1920), postscript, iii.

of them seemed very willing to agree to our Terms, but Shaw, Bostona & others having got positive orders from the NWCo, that we or the Colonists must all go away – & that the Colony must be absolutely annihilated – McKenzie they told us had told them before he embarked that utter destruction of the Colony must be effected – The Indians we sent for getting a Considerable quantity of Liquor from the NWCo – to have them on their side – but they behave remarkably well to us – we gave them only a dram each on their first arrival & promised to remunerate them when we got to the entrance of Lake Winnipeg – The half Breeds told Mr Sutherland & White that any Member of the Hudson Bay Co Servants might remain unmolested & take care & have any part or the whole of the Crop they could secure & that one of the Colonial Buildings they might occupy – but that all the rest must be destroyed – we certainly might defend our dwelling house against these people – but we could not be allowed to go out of Doors – on account of what ever – & it is very doubtful whether they would allow any people to come to our assistance – Making preparation to go away on Tuesday –

26th Monday – All hands busily employed as yesterday

27th Tuesday – at 6 PM we all embarked with the Goods, Cattle & Sheep in 6 Boats – Mr McLeod with 4 Men remaining here on the HBC account – All the Indians embarked with us – all the half Breeds came down on our going away – put up at Image Plain – Left several articles for Mr McLeod is to take an exact account of & send down to the entrance of Lake Winnipeg where the Colonists & Cattle are to remain till further news from Europe – or better prospects of remaining at Red River – This is a melancholy even to be driven away from the Colony intended to do good to all – by a set of interested Merchants of the NWCo.

[Fo. 29]

Actual Number of Free Canadians, with their Indian Wives, also their Children of both sexes living with them, at present residing in the Red River February 1814.

Names Men	Wifes	Boys	Girls	Widows	Boys	Girls
At the Forks and Pembina						
Peltier	1	2	1			
Minne	1	1	1	1	2	0
Bostonai	1	1	2	1	0	0
Cadotte	0	0	2			
A McDonell	0	1	1	1	4	3
Laverdure	1	2	1			
Bonhomme Montour	1	0	0			

Nicholas Ducharme	1	3	2			
Bottineau	1	1	5			
Hamel	1	1	2			
Lefevre	1	0	0			
C Hesse	1	0	0			
Menancon	1	0	0			
Dauphine	1	0	2			
Trottier	1	2	0			
Bonneau	1	3	2			
Trottier Jun ^r	0	0	0			
Hamlin	1	4	3			
Marsolait	1	1	1			
Marsolait Jun ^r	0	0	0			
Desmarais	1	3	4			
A Azure	1	1	1			
Bellhumeur	0	1	1			
Baptiste	0	0	0			
F Deschamps	1	1	0			
F Deschamps Jun ^r	1	1	0			
J Deschamps	1	0	0			
Bellegarde	1	2	0			
Bellegarde Jun ^r	1	0	2			
Lagemoniere	1	2	4	A Canadian Wife		
Fausseneuve	1	0	0			
Adam	0	1	1			
Delorme	1	3	3			
Delorme Jun ^r	0	0	0			
J B Roy	1	1	2			
Debois	1	0	0			
McKay	1	3	2			
Tranchmontagne	1	4	1			
Langee	1	1	0			
Vandal	1	0	0			
A Bercier	1	1	1			
Belanger	1	0	0			
10 Canadian Free Men with their Families at Swan River						
At Riviere Qu'Appelle						
E Faignant	1	2	0			
Loucis	0	0	0			
Vivier	1	1	2			
Falardeau	1	0	1			
Faignant Jun ^r	0	0	0			
Faignant Jun ^r	0	0	0	Brothers		
These 5 Men Killed by the Sioux Ind^s Aug 13						
Desjardins	1	1	1			
E Ducharme	1	3	2			
Jos Cire	0	3	2			

St Pierre	0	1	1			
Oraite	1	0	0			
Dead Since						
Poitras	1	2	1			
Beaulieu	1	1	1			
TOTAL	55 MEN	45 WOMEN	67 BOYS	61 GIRLS		

[Fo. 29d]

28th *Wednesday* – at noon arrived at the Dead River; where we put up to arrange some of our Cargo & make a Present to the Indians as they will remain hereabouts. Gave them the following present in Name of the Colonists – 5 Gallons Gunpowder, half a keg of Lead, 308 Balls – 100 Flints, 56 lb Shot – ½ a roll of Tobacco (47 lb) and 20 Gallons of Indian rum. which they divided equally amongst them 35 in Number, the 2 Chiefs having about equal to two Mens share – Made them a Speech along with the Present. Thanking them for their peaceable & good conduct toward us & telling them that they might soon expect us to return, when we got a force to stand by us – to which Pegwis stood up & made the following reply.

“My Children; my heart is agitated with different passions it feels gratitude for your Present, and means for your Departure – You were always the Indians Friend, and you now give a Ball to kill an Animal, or defend us from an enemy – We have likewise a pipe of Tobacco to smoak to console us during your absence – when Brother Chiefs arrive, they also shall partake of your Bounty, and as the Pipe has passed from hand to hand, the loss of our Friends will be the subject of our discourse: Look my young men; Look at that Present – I wish the Little Englishman (D. Cameron) could see it – When did he or his people ever shew us such Charity? – What do they ever bring to our Lands but this Liquid fire with which they deprive us of our Senses, in order the better to cheat us of the Produce of our Winters toil – When my Children, were we so well clothed as we now are? To satisfy the avarice of those People we have destroyed those animals whose skins they are so fond of, and never having the wherewith to satisfy their insatiable desire – we should have been miserable, had not our great Father taken pity on his Children, and sent these our white Brothers

[Fo. 30]

(pointing to the Settlers) to shew us the value of our soil, and I hope they will teach us to live like them after having shaken hands with

every individual he promised – Take Courage my Children; gather strength, and return soon as possible; Send a Letter to our Great Father and tell him how good we have been to you; tell him we thank him for having sent you amongst us, and beg he will always think well of his Red Children, and be charitable to them”

After this he shook hands again than [sic] sat down mean[ing]fully for some time, & then began to divide the presents – The Lac De Bonnet chief afterwards addressed us but as his speech was to the same purput (sic) I omit inserting it

The following is the remnant of the Colonists which remain with us. Viz.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Persons of all Ages & Sexes</u>
Mr McLean	6
Mr Pritchard	3
D. Livingston	3
Mr McVicar	3
Pat McNalty	4
Mrs Stewart	4
Alexander Stewart	2
Geo. Sutherland	1
Jno. Bruce (very old)	1
Alexander McLean	4
Martin Jourdan	2
Angus McDonald	family Canadian

A little after we had stopped, 2 Canoes with 26 people of Canadians went past us up the red River; They have come from Winnipeg river House – there were McKenzie the Agent, Duncan Cameron & 2 other officers in the Canoes. – They did not stop to speak to us. – Fitted out 3 men with a small Canoe to go to Osnaburgh to return the Cattle there this summer as there is none to go for them – sent 2 Scythes to gut grass for them –

[Fo. 30d]

Left our small boat by the way Yesterday & sent 4 Indian men back for it – Those Canadians in the 2 Canoes we imagine – are going back to the Forks to strengthen & animate the others to drive us away –

29th *Thursday* – At 8 AM got underway & went to the entrance of Lake Winnipeg & put up top caulk some of the Seams in the Culhillin boat – before we take the Lake – took down with us the Carriages of the 2 Cannon (brass) that the Canadians plundered in April last – to be useful & ready to mount others on to

be brought up from York Factory – at Midnight the Company, 4 Boats embarked; before this the Indians came with the small Boat left above – The Colonists now being out of the way of any danger, John Sutherland embarked & self for Jack river – as the Boats & Men are very much wanted to convey up goods for the different Trading posts before fall –

July 1815

16th Chiefs Thomas, Bird¹¹² & Self went away in a Boat from Jack river towards Red river to meet Mr Robertson¹¹³ & the Canadians daily expected. we met one Canoe of 8 Men with Mess^{rs} Robertson & Decoygne¹¹⁴ beyond Pidgeon river – they have been at the Settlement Red River for Pemmican left there for their use – they say that the Day after we went away the Canadians, Settlers & half Breeds & some run away Servants set fire to every remaining House & Building belonging to the Colony, & that when the two Canadian Canoes came up before mentioned Cameron took of[f] his hat & waved over his head & gave four repeated huzzahs when he saw the smoaking ruins of the Colonial buildings, which had been set fire to that Morning. – We also learnt that all the Cannon Swivels &c taken from the Settlement have been taken down to their House at Winnipeg river – and that Mr Jn^o McDonald

[Fo. 31]

Canadian Master at Swan river, had come over Land with his Interpreter Primo with about 15 Indians all he could by any means prevail upon, after giving Large

¹¹² James Bird Sr. (c. 1773-1856) was born in Acton, Middlesex, England in 1773. He entered the service of the HBC in 1788 as a writer at York Factory. He continued in this role until 1792 when he was transferred Cumberland House, and in 1793 became a trader at the South Branch House. From that date until 1803, he was a trader in charge of the South Branch House, Carlton House, and Edmonton House. In 1803, he succeeded William Tomison as the Inland Chief of the HBC, stationed at Edmonton House (he had been acting chief since 1799). Thereafter, Bird spent most of his career as Inland Chief and Chief of the Saskatchewan District. With the killing of Robert Semple at Seven Oaks in 1816, Bird was named Acting Governor of Rupert's Land, a position he held until 1818. Thereafter he moved back to the Saskatchewan District and became a Chief Factor in 1820. He retired in 1824, and settled in the Red River Settlement. Over his career, he established a number of "country marriages" in his various postings. Of the wives we know about, one was a swampy Cree woman named Oo-menahhomish, referred to as Mary. When he moved to Edmonton House, he married a woman known as Elisabeth (probably Elizabeth Montour, 1789-1834), and in 1835 married Mary Kelly Lowman in the Red River Settlement. He died there in 1856. John E. Foster, "Bird, James (d. 1856)," *DCB Online*. Ted Binnema and Gerhard J. Ens (eds.), *Edmonton House Journals, Correspondence & Reports 1806-1821* (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 2012), 13-80.

¹¹³ Colin Robertson. See previous annotation.

¹¹⁴ François Decoygne (Decoigne) was born in Berthierville, Quebec, and was a clerk for the NWC at Fort George on the Saskatchewan River by 1798. By 1804 he had become the senior clerk in the NWC's Athabasca department, and from 1806 to 1810 he was on the Winnipeg River and on the South Saskatchewan. In 1813 he built the NWC Rocky Mountain House at Jasper, and the year after he travelled to Fort William. In 1814, Colin Robertson engaged him to return to the Athabasca for the HBC where he was bound at this point. He worked for two years at Lesser Slave Lake, but in December of 1816, the NWC seized his post and supplies. By 1818, dissatisfied with the HBC, he left the west to settle in Montreal. Marjorie Wilkens Campbell, "Decoigne, François," *DCB Online*.

presents – Alan McDonald¹¹⁵ at Carlton House above the Elbow of river – also did his utmost to bring down a large body of Indians upon us to destroy us but not a single one would accompany him. – The day after the last buildings were burnt The Black Man an Indian Chief from Turtle river arrived with a few others – he went to the foundation of the Captain’s room now in ashes, and wept bitterly over it vowing vengeance against the Canadians when in his power for destroying the Colony, as all Indians are much pleased with the People coming to settle upon their Lands – to teach them how to manufacture European Articles – One of the Colony houses were promised should be allowed the HBC^o Servants to remain in – but it was set fire to as well as the Rest. – George Campbell was a very conspicuous person on this Business – The whole of very building & belonging the Colony is only the Blacksmith Shop which was spared for the Co. – All the half Breeds and Many freemen are gone down to Fort William to assist carrying out the Settlers & run away servants – Three of the half Breed Chiefs are also gone down there for payment for their Countrymen, we understand that who exerted himself in doing us the most Mischief is to have 100£ worth of goods given him yearly for Life & others are to be rewarded in proportion. Only 2 half Breeds remain up. – The Saskatchewan half Breeds are gone back to that place – After we went away the Canadians took away three times horses out of the hoeing plow, hoeing potatoes. – There is now only Serephin & 4 Men remaining at their House at the Forks & at Winnipeg river 2 or 3 men & 6 Clerks – Mr Clark & the 18 Canoes for us are expected here about 10 Days more from Montreal: -- they arrived 30th Ins^t –

P. Fidler [Fo. 31d]

The nearest possible estimated number of Tents, Men, Women, Children &c &c of the Three different tribes of Indians, who trade at the

¹¹⁵ This is likely Allan McDonell (*b.c.* 1776-1859). He was born in Scotland and came to BNA with his family thereafter. In 1799, Allan joined the fur-trading company of Forsyth, Richardson and Company as an apprentice clerk and came to the northwest for the XYC. When the XYC merged with the NWC in 1804, he served as a clerk in the new company at Fort Dauphin. During the years of conflict between the NWC and HBC, he remained in the Fort Dauphin and Red River departments becoming a NWC partner in 1816. He was one of the NWC partners at Brandon House when the Metis sacked the HBC post in 1816, He was later arrested by Lord Selkirk at Fort William in 1817 as an accessory to the murder of Robert Semple at Seven Oaks. In 1818, he, along with 13 others, was indicted by a grand jury at York, but he was never tried. With the merger of the NWC and HBC in 1821, McDonell was made a Chief Trader and placed in charge of the Swan River district at Fort Dauphin. He stayed here until 1826 when he was transferred to the Timiskaming district. He became Chief Factor there in 1828. In 1835 he was appointed to the Rainy Lake district where he stayed until 1841. He was granted a furlough in 1841 and retired thereafter in 1843. He settled in Montreal with his wife, the daughter of Aeneas Cameron. He died in 1859. Elaine Allan Mitchell, “McDonell, Allan,” *DCB Online*.

Settlements on this River below Carlton House, also those at Turtle river on the South Branch of the Red River

	Stone Ind ^s In Red River	Southern Inds or Crees	Sauteurs or Bungees	Grand Total
Number of Tents	300	70	110	480
Warriors	800	200	300	1300
Married Women	70	250	350	1300
Old Men	100	10	30	140
Old Women	200	50	70	320
Boys	600	120	200	920
Girls	900	130	300	1330
Horses	500	200	100	800
Dogs	1500	400	500	2400
Guns	100	180	300	580

N.B. There are 80 Tents of Stone Indians exclusive of the above at Carlton House in this River far above.

[Fo. 32]

The following is the Proposals sent down to us by Pegwis the Bungee Chief by Mr Alexander McDonald NWCo partner in his hand writing, purporting to be from the half Breeds, tho in reality from the NWCo –

“Articles of Agreement entered into between the Half Breeds, Indians of the Indian Territory on one part & the Honorable Hudson’s Bay Company on the other – Viz. –

1st All Settlers to retire immediately from this River, and no appearance of a Colony to remain

2nd Peace and Quietness to subsist between all Parties, Traders, Indians and freemen in future Throughout these two rivers – and on no account any Person to be molested in his Lawful pursuits.

3rd The Honorable Hudsons Bay Company will (as customary) enter this river with, if they think proper, from three to four of their former trading Boats and from 4 to 5 Men p[er] Boat as usual

4th Whatever former disturbances has taken place between both parties, that is to say the Honorable Hudsons Bay Company and the half breeds of the Indian Territory to be totally forgot and nor recalled by either party.

5th Every person retiring peaceably from this river Immediately shall not be molested in their passage out

6th No people passing the Summer for the Honbl^e Hudsons Bay Co shall remain in the Buildings of the Colony, but shall retire to some other spot, where they will establish for the purpose of Trade.

NB. If the Honorable HBC^o agree to these conditions we are ready to meet them directly on said Terms –

The Four Chiefs of the Half Indians by the Mutual consent of their Fellows”

Red River Indian Territory
Forks red River 25th June 1815

NB. The 4 Chiefs are Shaw, Grant, Bostona Pangman & Bonhomme Montour, the two former are the Sons of Partners & now serving their apprenticeship – & the other two are the Sons of Partners of the NWCo – and are acting as Interpreters

[Fo. 32d]

**Proposals of peace delivered by us to the Half Breeds
25th June 1815 – Peace**

In the year of our Lord 1815 – this 25th Day of June & of his Majesties Reign the Fifty Sixth. –

1st It is hereby promised that Peace and Amity shall hereafter exist between the people of the Settlement and the half Breeds – & that all that has been done on both sides shall be forgiven.

2nd It is furthermore agreed that the Half Breeds shall ever enjoy the full Liberty of running Buffalo and living according to the Custom in which they have been brot up.

3rd And it is also agreed that they shall not be subject to any Local Laws that may be hereafter established, unless they finding the good effects of Living a Civilized Life, shall come forward and ask to be admitted into our Society, then they shall be considered as one of us, and shall enjoy all the Privileges we may Possess.

4th And it is further Promised that whatever presents may be given annually to the Indians, that the half Breeds shall have an equal share with them.

Red River Settlement 25th June 1815 –

[Fo. 33]

Folios 33d to 37 consist of Astronomical Observations at Brandon House, Portage des Prairies & Norway House 1814-1815

Folio 38 contains a rough drawing of Fort Wedderburn in the Athabasca

Folios 40d to 46 consist of Meteorological Observations made at Brandon House 1814-1815